श्रीरामजयम्

A Short History of SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(Covering the whole range of Vedic, Sutra and Classical Periods)

A Book specially written to satisfy the needs of college students

BY

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PREFACE

(To the Second Edition)

A Short History of Sanskrit Literature was printed and published by us in 1977 keeping in view the needs of modern students of Sanskrit, Arts and Science Colleges who prepare for their Degree Examinations. We thought then, and even now believe, that it is too much to expect the undergraduates to read and understand the original works on the subject written by eminent scholars which are recommened for study. There are a few works written by Professors teaching the subject, but most of them deal only with classical literature since most of the universities prescribe only that portion for the Degree course. It is our considered opinion that every Sanskrit graduate should possess, in addition to the knowledge of the Epics, Puranas and the Kavya literature, a general knowledge of the Vedas, Sutras, Vedangas and the various Sastras. So we have included a brief outline of all these topics in this work.

In order to keep the book small and handy and also within the reach of the average students, we have not given detailed information about authors and works but have confined ourselves to the most important points only. As regards the dates of authors only the date of

Kalidasa has been discussed in some detail. With regard to others, the dates which are generally accepted have been given without much discussion, so that the students may not get confused. Since it is not possible to deal with all known authors and works in a small book like this, we have selected only the works that are generally well known and popular

In this second edition we have revised the portion dealing with classical Literature by giving additional information about authors and works included in the first edition and by adding a few more authors and works which we consider useful to the students. In doing so we have taken care not to burden the students with too many details.

We hope this revised edition will serve the students better and will enjoy the same popularity among the students as our Kuvalayanandam, Comparative Philology of I. E. Languages and other works.

Bombay.
15th, November 1989.

T. K. RAMACHANDRA AIYAR.

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श्रीरामजयम्

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

INTRODUCTORY

संस्कृतं is the name of the language that was spoken by the seers (मन्त्रद्रष्टारो मुनयः) of ancient India who have expressed their knowledge, wisdom and thoughts in that language. It is believed to be the language of the Gods revealed to and spoken by the sages—"संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वाक अन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः।" It is called संस्कृतं—refined because it was regulated by the strict rules of grammar and was used in that refined form by the learned and highly cultured people from very early times. It was in this language the great religious and secular literature of भारतवर्ष (India) was recorded from the pre-historic times up to about 1100 A.D. From about 400 B.C., प्राकृतभाषा which was spoken by a large section of the people became a literary language and many works were written in that language, mostly by Buddhists and Jains.

It is rather a difficult task to fix, with any amount of correctness, the dates of ancient Indian authors and works, particularly the Vedas which are believed to have been revealed to the great sages of old. Sanskrit authors in general speak nothing or very little about themselves

and hence our knowledge of the personal history of even the great poets like वाल्मीकि, व्यास and कालिदास is very meagre. A few authors like बाण, भवभूति, श्रीहर्ष etc,, have furnished some information about themselves and a few others, and that helps in fixing the chronology of some poets and works. External evidences such as inscriptions and records of foreign visitors like Hiuen Tsang and It Sing also help in fixing the dates of some. With these and also with the help of some internal evidences, it is only possible just to point out the approximate periods to which most of the works and authors belonged.

The History of Sanskrit Literature falls into two main periods—(1) The Vedic Period and (2) The Classical Period. The Vedic period which perhaps began as early as 4000 or 3000 B.C., extended in its last stage of development to about 200 B.C. The classical period which had its beginning at about 600 B.C., went concurrently with the last stage of the Vedic period and practically ended at about 1100 A.D. In a sense, it can be said that the classical period has extended up to modern times since many works in almost all branches of learning have been written even after 1100 A.D up to this day though these are mostly in the form of interpretation and criticism of the earlier works.

The period of transition from the Vedic to the Classical Literature (between 600 and 200 B.C.) was marked by the development of a distinct class of literature known as the Sutra Literature. To this period also belonged many

of the Puranas and the earliest works on Scientific Literature (शास्त्राणि). Thus, strictly speaking, the period from 800 to 200 B.C., can be termed as the period of Sutras and Puranas. Most of the early works on Sastras are in Sutra form. The History of Sanskrit Literature, therefore, can be said to consist of three periods.—

(1) The Vedic Period.	from	3000 B.C. to	600 B.C.
(2) Sutra Period.	,,	800 B.C. to	200 B.C.
(3) Classical Period	,,	600 B.C. to	1100 A.D. or up to the modern times.

The Sanskrit Language also, like the literature composed in it, falls into two main divisions—(1) The Vedic Sanskrit and (2) The Classical Sanskrit. Within the Vedic language itself, several stages of development can be found. After undergoing several changes the Vedic language finally merged itself into the classical Sanskrit. Though there is much difference between the Vedic and classical Sanskrit, the phonetic conditions are practically the same. As regards the difference, many old words are lost and new words have come in. Some words have changed their meaning and new derivations have been introduced. Differences can be seen in grammatical forms too. We have in the Vedas कर्णेभिः for classical कर्णैः, देवासः for देवाः etc. The process of introducing new derivations and new words continued for a long period until it was stopped by the great grammarian पाणिनि (in about 600 B.C.) who wrote a complete grammar for the anguage laying down rules for th: derivation of each and

every word in Sanskrit and prevented the introduction of new words by giving a full list of Roots and Nouns. Even after पाणिनि, some changes did occur which were regularised by वररुचि in his Vartikas and finally by पतञ्जलि who wrote the great व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम्. Any violation of the rules as laid down by पतञ्जलि was regarded as a grammatical error and hence the Sanskrit Language has remained the same without any change from the date of पतञ्जलि (about 250 B.C.) up to this day.

I. The Vedic Period (3000 B.C. to 600 B.C.)

The Vedas are the earliest literary productions preserved in any branch of the Indo-European family. The Vedic literature is distinguished by refinement and beauty of thought and the skill in the handling of language and metre. It is mostly religious in its content and form. Derived from the root विद् 'to know', the word वेद means sacred lore or that from which knowledge is got. The Vedas are four in number (1) ऋग्वेद (2) सामवेद (3) यजुर्वेद and (4) अथर्ववेद. According to another division based on the form, Vedas are spoken as three—त्रयी. In this classification portions of the Vedas which are in the form of verses are called ऋक्, those in prose are called यजुस् and those that are set to music and are meant to be sung in sacrifices are called साम. Strictly speaking ऋक् means laudatory stanza mainly in praise of Gods. Saman means propitiation (by chants) and यजुस् means sacrificial prayer or worship.

Three clear stages of development can be noticed in the Vedic Literature though the orthodox Hindus believe the Vedas are अनादि and अपौरुषेय. The first stage of development is represented by the संहिता portions of the Vedas, the second stage by the ब्राह्मण portions and the third by the upanishads. In the first stage represented by the ऋक्संहिता, the literature was creative in spirit and highly poetic in form. The second stage represented by the Brahmanas is mainly concerned with elaborate rituals and has little creative spirit in it. In the last stage represented by the upanishads, the Vedic Literature became theologically speculative in character.

Lyric poetry attained a high stage of development even in very early period of the Vedic Literature. The whole of ऋक्संहिता is an example of excellent lyric poetry. In the later period represented by the संहिता of यजुर्वेद and the Brahmanas, some advance was made towards the formation of a literary prose style which, however, did not attain a high level of development.

The संहिता portion of the Vedas mostly consist of Rigs—Mantras which are to be recited in various sacrifices. The Brahmanas contain explanation of the Mantra and practical directions for the conduct of sacrifices. They further explain the duties to be performed by the four priests (ऋत्विजः)—(1) होता, the Rigvedin, (2) उद्गाता the Samavedin (3) अध्वर्यु—the Yajurvedin and (4) ब्रह्मा—the Atharvavedin, and also explain the mututal relationship of

the Mantras and the ceremonial as well as their symbolical meaning. Each Veda has one or more ब्राह्मण attached to it and there are many interesting legends and striking thoughts recorded in them.

Aranyakas are a further development of the Vedic Literature which occupy a place at the end of the Brahmanas. They contain instructions for the meditation of mystic symbols which, owing to their superior mystic sanctity, are intented to be communicated to the pupil by the teacher in the solitude of the forest. They are meant for the use of pious men who have retired to the forest and no longer perform sacrifices. Hence this portion is called आरण्यकम्. The Upanishads which are devoted entirely to theological and philosophical speculations on the nature of things, mark the last stage in the development of Vedic Literature. Since they occupy a place at the end of the Vedas, they are collectively known as the Vedanta Literature. From the nature of the subject matter dealt with, the संहिता and ब्राह्मण portions together are known as कर्मकाण्ड since they are mainly concerned with sacrifices and other rituals (कर्म). The Aranyakas are known as उपासनाकाण्ड and the Upanishads as ज्ञानकाण्ड.

The संहिता, ब्राह्मण, आरण्यक and उपनिषद् represent four stages of development of the Vedic literature in the same order. The Samhitas are collections of hymns grouped and arranged into a single book with a purpose. They contain hymns which were composed in different periods by different sages. Different stages can be noticed even in

the compilation of one particular संहिता. The ऋक्संहिता which is the oldest of the Samhitas is divided into ten Mandalas of which Mandalas two to seven appear to be the earliest collections. The Mandalas one and ten are the latest additions as could be determined from the nature of the subject matter and language.

During the period of Rig Samhita, the central place of Aryan culture and civilisation was the North-Western part o' India—the banks of the great river Indus and its tributeres. By the time of the यजुर्वेद and the Brahmanas the Aryans had come to the country called कुरुक्षेत्र from where he Brahmanic religion and social systems developed and spread to the Videha and Panchala countries and gradually to other parts of India. By the time of the Upanishads, the Aryan culture and civilisation had spread ll over आर्यावर्त—the vast country between the Vindhyas and the Himalayas. During the classical period they were introduced to the South and soon spread all over Indi.

The Rig Veda

The ऋक्संहिता consists of a collection of 1028 Hymns (सूक्तानि) ontaining a little over ten thousand verses (ऋच:) which are kilfully composed in praise of the ritual deities like अग्नि, सोम, मरुत्, इन्द्र, वरुण etc. It further contains a few marriag, philosophical and funeral hymns as well as some magic ongs and secular hymns. The authorship of

the various hymns is attributed to the great seers (मन्त्रद्रष्टारः) like गृत्समद, विश्वामित्र, वामदेव, अत्रि, भरद्वाज and वसिष्ठ who are mentioned in them. The ऋक्संहिता is divided into ten sections called Mandalas. There is also another division of the same संहिता into eight sections called अष्टकाः। The ऋक्संहिता contains the earliest hymns of the Vedic Literature which must have been composed before 3000 B.C. according to Lokamanya Tilak and many other Indian scholars, while Macdonell and other Western scholars assign them to a period of about 1500 B.C.

Originally there were five recensions (शाखाः) of the ऋग्वेदसंहिता which were—(1) शकल, (2) बाष्कल, (3) आश्वलायन, (4) शाङ्खायन and (5) माण्डूकेय. Of these only the first, the संहिता of the शाकलशाखा is now available. Two Brahmanas—(1) the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण and (2) कौषीतकीब्राह्मण which is also known as शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण—are attached to the ऋग्वेद. The former consists of 40 chapters while the latter has only 30 chapters. The ऐतरेयारण्यकम् of 18 chapters is attached to the ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् and the ऐतरेयोपनिषत् forms the last part of ths आरण्यकम्. To the कौषीतकीब्राह्मण is attached the कौषीतकी आरण्यक of 15 chapters which includes the कौषीतकी Upanislad.

Sama Veda

The सामवेद is closely connected with the ऋग्वेद since the major portion of it consists of Rigs (stanzas) taken from the ऋग्वेद, chiefly from the eighth and ninth Mandalas.

Out of a total of 1549 stanzas, only 75 are new. All others are from the ऋग्वेद. These are distributed in two books called Archikas—(1) the पूर्वार्चिकम् and (2) उत्तरार्चिकम् । The verses in सामवेद differ from those of the ऋग्वेद only in the way of marking the accent. These are intended to be sung by the उद्गातृ priests at the सोमयाग. These stanzas assume their proper character of musical Samans only in the various song-books called Ganas (गानम्). These books give the rules for prolongation, repetition and interpolation of syllables necessary in singing.

Originally the सामवेदसंहिता is said to have had one thousand recensions (शाखाः) but only three of them—(1) राणायनीयशाखा, (2) कौतुमशाखा and (3) जैमिनीय or तलवकारशाखा are now preserved. The Samhitas of राणायणीय and जैमिनीय are available in full while in the संहिता of कौतुम, all except the seventh प्रपाठक is lost. To the जैमिनीय or तलवकार school is attached the ब्राह्मण of that name and the उपनिषद्ब्राह्मण included in this ब्राह्मण is the आरण्यक of this recension. The brief but very important केनोपनिषत् forms part of this तलवकारब्राह्मणम्. There is another prominent ब्राह्मण of the सामवेद called the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण which consists of 25 chapters. It is also known as ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण or प्रौढब्राह्मण. This is concerned with the Soma sacrifices in general and also contains many legends. Another ब्राह्मण attached to the ताण्ड्य school of सामवेद is the छान्दोग्यब्राह्मणम्, the major portion of which is the छान्दोग्योपनिषत् which is considered

to be the most important of the Upanishads. The first section of this ब्राह्मण is the आरण्यक of the ताण्ड्य recension.

Yajurveda

The यजुर्वेद comprises hymns mostly taken from the ऋग्वेद, original prose formulas, and also explanations of the Rigvedic hymns from the ritualistic aspect. Therefore this Veda is partly in prose and partly in verse. Originally this Veda is said to have had more than hundred recensions most of which are now lost.

The यजुर्वेद has come down to us in two branches—(1) the कृष्णयजुर्वेद and, (2) शुक्लयजुर्वेद. The former school came to be calld कृष्ण (black) because the contents are not well-arranged and the sacrificial formulas are intermingled, to a certain extent, with their explanations. The latter school came to be called शुक्ल (white) because the hymns are well arranged and the sacrificial formulas are not mixed up with the explanation of the hymns. The Samhitas of both branches deal with many important rituals such as the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices (दर्शपूर्णमासौ), the सोम sacrifice, the construction of the fire altar and also वाजपेयं, राजसूयं, अश्वमेध, सर्वमेध: and other sacrifices.

The कृष्णयजुर्वेदसंहिता which appears to be earlier than the संहिता of शुक्लयजुर्वेद has three well-preserved recensions - viz., (1) काठकसंहिता, (2) मैत्रायणीसंहिता which was earlier known as कालापसंहिता and (3) तैत्तिरीयसंहिता. There is one more

recension of this वेद-viz., कपिष्ठलकठसंहिता which is available only in fragments. The तैत्तिरीय recension has two schools —that of (1) आपस्तम्ब and (2) हिरण्यकेशिन्. To the तैत्तिरीयसंहिता which consists of seven books (Kandas) subdivided into 44 lessons, is attached the तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणं in three books. The तैत्तिरीयारण्यकं forms a supplement to this Brahmana and the last four sections of this आरण्यकं constitute the two upanishads the तैत्तिरीय and the महानारायण or याज्ञिकी उपनिषत्.

The other three recensions of the यजुर्वेद which are collectively known as the Charaka school have no separate Brahmanas. The prose portions of the मैत्रायणी संहिता constitute its ब्राह्मण and the मैत्रायणीय or मैत्री उपनिषद् is attached to this संहिता. As for the काठक recension, the ब्राह्मण is found included in the तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण and the two upanishads the कठ and श्वेताश्वतर are attached to it.

The संहिता of the शुक्लयजुर्वेद is known as वाजसनेयी संहिता. It is said to have been revealed by the Sun in the form of a horse to याज्ञवल्क्यः, the great sage who propitiated the Sun God by penance and got the शुक्लयजुर्वेद from Him. This संहिता has two recensions—the काण्व and the माध्यन्दिन which are almost identical in their subject matter and the arrangement of the subject matter. To this शुक्लयजुर्वेद is attached the शतपथब्राह्मणं of one hundred chapters. This ब्राह्मण also has two recensions, the काण्व and माध्यन्दिन. From

the historical point of view the शतपथब्राह्मण is the most important vedic text, next to the ऋग्वेदसंहिता. The most interesting legend of the deluge in which मनु came into possession of a little fish which asked him to rear it and promised to save him from the coming flood is told here in detail. The stories of Urvasi and Pururuvas and of Bharata, the son of शकुन्तला and दुष्यन्त are also found here. This also mentions Janamejaya (जनमेजय), the celebrated king of the Kurus and gives geographical data pertaining to the spread of Brahminical system to the various parts of India.

The concluding chapters of the शतपथ-ब्राह्मण constitute the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्, the longest and one of the most important of the Upanishads. The very small but important ईशोपनिषत् also belongs to this Veda and forms the concluding part of the वाजसनेयी संहिता itself.

Atharva Veda

The अथर्ववेद also called अथर्वाङ्गिरस is not so much concerned with sacrificial matters as the other three Vedas. It is more a heterogeneous collection of spells which teach sorcery directed against hostile agencies such as diseases, noxious animals, demons, enemies etc. It also contains spells of an auspicious character such as charms to secure harmony in family and village life, reconciliation of enemies, long life, health, prosperity etc. Thus it has a double aspect, being meant to appease and bless as well as to curse;

The Atharva Veda is said to be very important to the kings since it contains spells that would bring success in war and diplomacy. (Refer रघुवंश—गुरुणाथर्वविदा कृतक्रियः)

The संहिता of अथर्ववेद is preserved in two recensions—(1) the शौनक and (2) पिप्पलाद. The शौनकशाखा is better known than the latter. The संहिता of शौनकशाखा contains 730 hymns and about 6000 stanzas divided into twenty books. Some 1200 stanzas are derived from the Rigveda. To this Veda is attached the गोपथब्राह्मणम् which does not have any direct connection with the संहिता. The main motive of this ब्राह्मण seems to be the glorification of the अथर्ववेद and the fourth priest ब्रह्मा. This Veda does not have any Aranyaka.

Many Upanishads are attributed to अथर्ववेद but the oldest and most important of the Atharvan Upanishads are the प्रश्न, मुण्डक and माण्डूक्य Upanishads. The प्रश्नोपनिषद् belongs to the पिप्पलाद recension. It is so called because it treats six main points of the Vedanta doctrine in the form of six questions addressed by six students to the sage पिप्पलाद and his answers thereon. The मुण्डक derives its name from being the Upanishad of the tonsured (मुण्ड)—an association of the ascetics who shaved their heads. This is one of the most popular of the Upanishads. The माण्डूक्य is a very small Upanishad in prose. Though it bears the name of a Rigvedic school, it is reckoned among the Upanishads of the Atharva Veda. It explains the sacred syllable ॐ as the symbolic expression of the Universe and Brahman.

The date of the Vedas

According to Balagangadhara Tilak and some other Indian scholars, the age of the Vedas has to be divided into four periods :

1. The first period beginning from about 6000 B.C. and extending up to 4000 B.C. was the age of the most ancient hymns and some prose sections which are in the form of praise of favourite Gods.

2. The period between 4000 B.C., and 2500 B.C., was the age when most of the ritual Mantras of the ऋग्वेद were composed and the old and new hymns were arranged into संहिता form. The earlier portions of साम, and यजुर्वेद Samhitas too can be assigned to this period.

3. The third period between 2500 B.C., and 1400 B.C., was the time of great rituals when the two important Brahmanas of the यजुर्वेद—the तैत्तिरीय and शतपथब्राह्मण and the later portions of the यजुर्वेद Samhitas came into being. To this period can be assigned the earlier portions of the अथर्ववेदसंहिता and some other Brahmanas. Some of the earlier Upanishads too must have come into existence during this period.

4. The last division of the Vedic period beginning from 1400 B.C., and coming down to 500 B.C., saw the birth of the later Aranyakas and Upanishads as well as श्रौत and गृह्य Sutras. To this period can be assigned

a major portion of the Sutra literature and the earliest epic poems like the रामायण and the earlier stage of the महाभारत.

According to A. A. Macdonell and other western scholars, the Vedic period begins from about 1500 B.C., and ends in about 600 B.C. In a sense it can be said to extend up to 200 B.C., since most of the later Upanishads were composed during the Sutra period.

Orthodox Hindus consider the whole of the Vedic Literature from the Samhitas to the Upanishads as revealed texts and not composed by human beings. Hence they are regarded as sacred books whose authority is supreme. The Sutras and other Smritis of human authorship are not treated on a par with the Vedas though many of them are a continuation of the Vedic texts.

II. The Sutra Period (800 B.C. to 200 B.C.)

In the last stage of the Vedic period and also during the period immediately following it, there came into being a distinct type of literature known as Sutras which treated a large number of subjects connected with the Vedas. The growing mass of details in rituals and customs preserved in the Brahmanas and in floating tradition imposed too great a burden on the memory of the priests that there was a pressing need to give them a systematic shape and compress them within a small compass. This need gave rise to the Sutra style which is so compressed that the wording of

the most laconic telegram would often appear diffuse compared with it. The Srauta Sutras are really a continuation of the ritual side of the Brahmanas but they are not regarded as part of revelation and no sacred character is attributed to them.

The Vedangas

The whole body of Sutra works that deal with subjects pertaining to the Vedas and can be regarded as vedic suppliments, are divided into six classes known as Vedangas. They are—(1) शिक्षा or phonetics; (2) व्याकरणम् or grammar, (3) छन्दस् or metre, (4) निरुक्तं or etimology, (5) कल्प or religious practice and (6) ज्योतिष or astronomy.

"शिक्षा व्याकरणं छन्दो निरुक्तं ज्योतिषं तथा ।
कल्पश्चेति षडङ्गानि. " ।
" ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः
षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च " (महाभाष्यम्).

कल्पः—The origin of कल्प is to be traced to the Brahmanas. The long and tedious explanations of the ritualistic formulas in the Brahmanas could not be remembered at the time of performance of the sacred rites. Hence the Sutra style was adopted for treating this subject.

The subject matter of the Kalpa Sutras is classified under four heads—(1) श्रौत, (2) गृह्य, (3) धर्म and (4) शुल्ब Sutras. The Srauta Sutras treat the worship of the

three fires, the performance of दर्शपूर्णमास, the different सोम sacrifices etc. The Grihya Sutras deal with the ceremonies from गर्भाधान to उपनयनं, the duties of the three castes (त्रैवर्णिकाः) as ब्रह्मचारी and गृहस्थ, the duties of a teacher, of a pupil, the marriage customs, the पञ्चमहायज्ञाः, funeral ceremonies and so many other things that are to be performed by a गृहस्थ. The Dharmasutras deal with law, religion, custom and usage, the duties of the four castes and the orders (आश्रम) in life. These come under the classification of स्मृति, i.e., the literature based on tradition as opposed to the Srauta and गृह्य Sutras which are based on श्रुति—revelation. The शुल्ब Sutras are practical manuals giving the measurements necessary for the construction of the Vedi, of the altars and so forth. They show an advanced knowledge of geometry and constitute the oldest Indian mathematical works.

Each कल्पसूत्र is attached to a particular Veda. To the ऋग्वेद is attached two Kalpa Sutras—(1) the शाङ्खायन कल्पसूत्रं connected with शाङ्खायनब्राह्मणम् and (2) the आश्वलायन-कल्पसूत्रं related to the ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् । Both श्रौत and गृह्य Sutras are combined in these two कल्प Sutras. In addition to these there is one शाम्भव्यगृह्यसूत्रं which belongs to the कौषीतकीब्राह्मण of the ऋग्वेद.

To the सामवेद there are four श्रौतसूत्राणि—(1) The मशककल्पसूत्रम् also called आर्षेयकल्पं, (2) लाठ्यायनश्रौतसूत्रम्—These two Kalpas belong to the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण. The

third श्रौतसूत्र of सामवेद is (3) द्राह्यायणसूत्र which is connected with the राणायनीयशाखा. (4) The जैमनीयशाखा has the Srauta and गृह्यसत्र of the same name. The chief गृह्यसूत्रं of the सामवेद is the गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रं which is 'one of the oldest, completest and most interesting work of this class'. It seems to have been used both by the राणायनीय and जैमिनीय schools.

There are many कल्प sutras attached to the कृष्णयजुर्वेद of which the Kalpasutras of Apastamba and Bodhayana, both attached to the तैत्तिरीयशाखा, are the most important. Each is complete in its own tradition and contains all the four branches—the श्रौत, गृह्य, धर्म and शुल्व Sutras. There is also the कल्पसूत्र of Hiranyakesin, an off shoot of Apastamba, which contains the श्रौत, and गृह्य Sutras of that branch. The Dharmasutras of this author do not differ much from those of आपस्तम्ब. There are also the मानवश्रौतसूत्र belonging to कृष्णयजुर्वेद मैत्रायणीयशाखा and the वैखानसश्रौतसूत्र attached to the कृष्णयजुर्वेदतैत्तिरीयशाखा.

To the शुक्लयजुर्वेद belong the श्रौत and शुल्ब Sutras of Katyayana and the गृह्यसूत्र of पारस्कर. The पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र is also called वाजसनेयगृह्यसूत्रम् । The श्रौतसूत्र of कात्यायन strictly follows the sacrificial order of the शतपथब्राह्मण.

To the अथर्ववेद the वैतानसूत्रं is the श्रौतसूत्रम् । Usually the गृह्यसूत्र presupposes श्रौतसूत्रम्, but in the case of वैतानसूत्रं, the order is reversed. It is dependent on the गृह्यसूत्रम् । To

the अथर्ववेद is attached the important कौशिकगृह्यसूत्रम्. It is not a mere गृह्यसूत्रम्. Besides giving the important rules of the domestic ritual, it deals with the magical and other practices specially connected with अथर्ववेद.

We have already mentioned that the Kalpa sutras of आपस्तम्ब and बोधायन are complete with their धर्मसूत्रं and शुल्बसूत्रम्. The कल्पसूत्र of हिरण्यकेशिन् also contains धर्मसूत्र which differs little from the Sutras of आपस्तम्ब। The Dharma Sutras of आपस्तम्ब and बोधायन contain all matters that are expected to be dealt with in धर्मसूत्र and in that sense they are complete works. There is another important धर्मसूत्र of गौतम which does not form part of any कल्पम्. At one time it must have been connected with a Vedic school, most probably to the राणायनीय branch of the सामवेद। Though the work of गौतम is entitled धर्मशास्त्रं, it is in style and character, a regular धर्मसूत्र. This is perhaps the oldest धर्मसूत्र since even the धर्मसूत्र of बोधायन contains passages borrowed from this. Another धर्मसूत्र belonging to the Vedic period is the धर्मशास्त्र of Vasistha in 30 chapters. The prose aphorisms of this book are intermingled with verse, the archaic त्रिष्टुप् metre being frequently employed instead of the latter श्लोक metre of मनु and others. There is another मानवधर्मशास्त्र known from quotations only. The later works on धर्मशास्त्र such as the law books (स्मृति) of Manu, Yajnavalkya and others are the continuation and further development of the earlier Dharma Sutras of the Vedic period.

शिक्षा—The तैत्तिरीयारण्यक already mentions शिक्षा a subject which even then dealt with letters, accents, quantity pronounciation and euphonic rules. "शीक्षां व्याख्यास्यामः। वर्णः स्वरः। मात्रा बलम्। साम सन्तानः। इत्युक्तः शीक्षाध्यायः।" There are a large number of works bearing the title शिक्षा which are short manuals containing directions of Vedic recitation and correct pronunciation. याज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षा, वासिष्ठी शिक्षा, कात्यायनी शिक्षा, पाराशरी शिक्षा, नारदी शिक्षा, शौनकीयशिक्षा, गौतमी शिक्षा, and पाणिनीयशिक्षा are some of the prominent शिक्षा works. All these are later suppliments to Vedic literature.

The treatises really representative of Vedic phonetics are the Pratisakhyas which are directly connected with the संहिता and the पदपाठ of the Vedas and their object is to determine the relation of these to each other. The प्रातिशाख्यानि as their name implies, were each connected with a particular recension (शाखा) of the Veda. To the शाकलशाखा of the ऋग्वेद is attached the ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्यं of शौनक। To the माध्यन्दिन recension of the शुक्लयजुर्वेद is attached the वाजसनेयीप्रातिशाख्यसूत्रं of कात्यायन. The तैत्तिरीयप्रातिशाख्यं of unknown author belongs to the तैत्तिरीयशाखा of the कृष्णयजुर्वेद, to the सामवेद belong the सामवेदप्रातिशाख्यं, पुष्पसूत्रं and the पञ्चविधसूत्रम्। To the शौनकशाखा of अथर्ववेद belongs the अथर्ववेदप्रातिशाख्यं in four chapters which is more grammatical than the other works of this class. These Pratisakhyas have exercised their influence on the growth of grammatical studies of the later period.

व्याकरणम्—The reading and understanding of the Vedas required a correct idea of the use of words in their proper senses. Hence grammatical studies which had their origin in the Pratisakhyas developed into a separate supplement of the Vedas. यास्क mentions a Northern and an Eastern school of grammar and refers to many early grammarians among whom शाकटायन, गार्ग्य and शाकल्य are the most important. It was शाकटायन who expounded the theory of the verbal origin of nouns and the whole system of Panini is based on that theory. पाणिनि also refers to many earlier grammarians whose works are not now available. The earliest text on grammar now available is the अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि which deals with the grammar of the Vedic Language as well as the spoken language—भाषा. Coming to be regarded as an infallible authority, पाणिनि superseded all his predecessors, whose works have consequently perished. The अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि with the वार्तिक of वररुचि and the महाभाष्यं of पतञ्जलि dominate the subsequent letera-ture. Though belonging to the middle of the सूत्र period the अष्टाध्यायी must be regarded as the starting point of the Post-Vedic age.

According to tradition quoted in लघुत्रिमुनिकल्पतरु, the Vyakaranas are nine in number :—

" एन्द्रं चान्द्रं काशकृत्स्नं कौमारं शाकटायनम् ।
सारस्वतं चापिशलं शाकलं पाणिनीयकम ।। "

पतञ्जलि has stressed the need for the study of व्याकरण and has mentioned many purposes—"रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्" . . . . . "तस्मात्-अध्येयं व्याकरणम्" (पस्पशभाष्यम्). Since the protection of the Vedas is an important function of grammar, it is rightly treated as a Vedanga. The Indians can feel justly proud of their grammarians because the results achieved by them are profound and unsurpassed. Prof. A. A. Macdonell says—"The Sanskrit grammarians of India were the first to analyse word forms, to recognise the difference between root and suffix, to determine the function of suffixes, and on the whole to elaborate a grammatical system so accurate and complete as to be unparalleled in any other country".

निरुक्तम्—The निरुक्त represents the early attempts made to intepret the Vedas. 'निरुच्यते निःशेषेण उपदिश्यते निर्वचनविधया तत्तदर्थबोधनाय पदजातं यत्र तत् निरुक्तम् । The earliest निरुक्त text now available is the work of यास्क, who being earlier than पाणिनि has to be assigned to a period before 800 B,C. यास्क refers to some earlier works of निरुक्त by औपमन्यवः; औदुम्बरायणः, गार्ग्यः, गालवः etc., which were not even available to him. The निरुक्त explains words selected from the Vedas which are grouped into three classes—(1) the नैघण्डुककाण्ड containing a list of words which are synonyms (2) नैगमकाण्ड containing a list of ambiguous and difficult words and दैवतकाण्ड containing a list of names of deities occupying the sky, earth and heaven. यास्क had such a collection before him and he wrote his commentary on it. Both that list of words as well as Yaska's commentary

are called निरुक्तम्. That collection of Vedic words in three groups is also collectively known as निघण्टु.

छन्दः—Chandas or prosody deals with Vedic metres and the rules applicable to them. Since Mantras are set in metre, their correct pronunciation requires a knowledge of their metre. The last three patalas of the ऋग्वेदप्रातिशाख्यं and the निदानसूत्रम् belonging to the सामवेद deal with the nature and rules of Vedic metres. The छन्दस्सूत्र of पिङ्गल is a well known work on metre which deals with Vedic metre and also Post-Vedic prosody.

ज्योतिषम्—The sacrifices and other rituals are to be performed on days and hours fixed after calculating the movements of the sun and the moon. Jyotisha was accepted as a वेदाङ्ग to satisfy this need. The four Vedas had their separate ज्योतिष but that of सामवेद is now lost. The ज्योतिष of ऋग्वेद is called आर्चज्यौतिषम् which consists of 36 verses. The याजुषज्यौतिषं of 39 verses is attached to the यजुर्वेद. The आथर्वणज्योतिषं attached to the अथर्ववेद has 162 verses. All these three works are attributed to one author called लगध। A work of unknown authorship called ज्योतिषवेदाङ्ग is now available. It has 43 verses attached to the Yajurveda and 36 verses attached to the Rigveda. The ज्योतिः शास्त्र of the post Vedic period is a continuation and development of वेदाङ्गज्योतिषम्.

Apart from the above six Vedangas, there are the Anukramanis or Vedic indices, which give lists of the

hymns, the authors, the metres and the deities in the order in which they occur in the various Samhitas. There are पदानुक्रमणी, आर्षानुक्रमणी, देवतानुक्रमणी and सर्वानुक्रमणी. There are also the Parisishtas (परिशिष्ट) which are supplements to the Sutras, and the Prayogas and Paddhatis which describe the function of the priests etc. All these are the products of the Sutra period and form part of the Vedic literature.

To the Sutra period also belong the early works of the post-Vedic Sastras—mostly written in the Sutra style such as—the Nyaya (न्याय) sutras of Gautama, the Vaiseshika (वैशेषिक) sutras of कणाद, the मीमांसा sutras of जैमिनि, the शारीरक Sutras of बादरायण, the योग Sutras of पतञ्जलि, the नाट्यशास्त्र of भरतमुनि and also the two great Epic poems —the रामायण and the महाभारत as well as the major portion of पुराण literature. Some of the early works of the Upavedas – the आयुर्वेद, गान्धर्ववेद, धनुर्वेद and अर्थशास्त्र also belong to this period.

III: The Classical Period

(600 B.C. to 1100 A.D. or to the present day)

'In turning from the Vedic to the classical period, we are confronted with a literature which is different from the Vedic Literature in matter, spirit and form.' While the Vedic literature is essentially religious in character, the classical Sanskrit literature is secular in its content. It has got its roots in religion and hence we find a moralising

spirit breathing throughout the whole literature. The religion itself has undergone great change. The Vedic Gods like Indra, Agni, Varuna, etc., have been replaced by the three great Gods—ब्रह्मा, विष्णु and शिव who have become the chief objects of worship, though Indra continued to occupy a prominent place compared to other Vedic Gods. Some new Gods of lesser ranks have arisen such as गणेश, कार्तिकेय, लक्ष्मी, the goddess of wealth and beauty, दुर्गा, the powerful spouse of शिव and सरस्वती, the goddess of learning.

The spirit of the Vedic literature is optimistic while the classic literature is pervaded by an outlook of pessimism. This is perhaps due to the absence of the doctrine of Karma in the Vedic period and its presence in classical literature. There is also a tendency in the classical literature to introduce the fantastic, marvellous and supernatural elements into the description of human events and the epics and Puranas contain highly exaggerated accounts which are not in keeping with the Vedic spirit.

As regards form, prose is neglected in the classical period and even scientific subjects such as medicine, mathematics and astronomy are dealt with in verse. In this respect the classical literature has some similarity with the early Vedic literature, but the classical metres are more elaborate and differ from the earlier Vedic metres. The language too has undergone many changes in Phonetics, vocabulary and grammar. Many Vedic words and forms are lost and long compounds rarely seen in the Vedas are

freely used here. The style too has lost its earlier simplicity and has been more ornate and involved.

As we have stated earlier, the classical literature must have originated and developed side by side with the religious literature during the later part of the Vedic period itself. Its origin can be traced to the hymns of the ऋग्वेद which contain dialogues such as those of उर्वशी and पुरूरवस् and यम and यमी; to the narratives such as the story of शुनश्शेफ in the Brahmanas and also to the various myths and legends. References to इतिहास and पुराण are found in the Brahmanas and also in later Vedic and Sutra texts. These references must relate to the collections of ancient legends and narratives which were then in vogue. The रामायण and the महाभारत contain a number of old stories and also refer to some इतिहास, पुराण etc. Those legends and old stories are to be considered as the fore-runners of later epics.

The Epics—800 B.C. to 200 B.C.

Sanskrit epic poetry falls under two main classes—(1) The इतिहास (legend), आख्यान (narrative) or पुराण (ancient tale) forming one class which comprises old stories, legends and narratives and (2) the काव्य or court epic or artificial epic constituting the other class. In the first class of literature, greater importance is given to the matter than form while in the Kavyas the form is as important as the contents. Here the poet is expected to bestow great

care in the development of a well-knit plot, in the delineation of characters and sentiments, in the mode of expression and in the use of appropriate style, figures of speech and poetic excellences. In the पुराण class we find disconnected stories narrated in a single word and very little attention paid to the form. This class of works is concerned only with the imparting of knowledge on various subjects and preaching morals with no concern to the artistic presentation of the matter as in the Kavyas.

The महाभारतं is the earliest and the chief representative of the इतिहास-पुराण class while the रामायणं is the oldest representatives of the Kavyas. Both these works are mainly composed in the 'श्लोक or अनुष्टुप् metre, but the महाभारत contains certain portions mainly composed in उपजाति and वंशस्थ metres and it also preserves some old prose stories. There is no prose passage in the whole of रामायण and the metres like उपजाति etc., are rarely used. Further, the Mahabharata contains words such as—बृहदश्व उवाच, वैशंपायन उवाच ' etc., while introducing speeches which may be survivals of prose narratives connecting old epic songs. Such words are totally absent in the रामायण. Mcre over the रामायण; is the work of a single poet with a single connected story and a uniform style while the महाभारत is a collection of many works, the only unity being provided by the पाण्डव story. The epic story of the Pandavas covers just one-fifth of the whole work and so much didactic matter is added to it that in its final shape the महाभारत

has become more an encyclopaedia of moral teachings than a single epic poem.

Rāmāyana is said to be the first ornate poetry (आदिकाव्यम्) and there is real sense in it. Valmiki was the first poet to use संस्कृतभाषा in secular poetry and he had the command of a literary art which made his poem a model to others. The elegance of his handling the metre and his skilled use of the figures of speech are the precursors of the polished style of Kalidasa. It can be safely assumed that काव्य which includes poetry, prose and drama must have had a direct development from the Ramayana and other epic.

महाभारत

Though chronologically रामायण comes first, महाभारतं is discussed here because, being the oldest representative of the इतिहासपुराण class, it is more closely connected with the Vedas and the Dharma Sastras.

The महाभारतं in its present form contains more than a lakh of verses and it is the longest poem ever known in literary history. "महत्त्वाद् भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते। Vyasa composed this work and taught to his disciple वैशंपायन who narrated it to जनमेजय (son of परीक्षित्) at his सर्पयाग. उग्रश्रवस्, the सूत later on narrated it to शौनक and others in the नैमिशारण्यम्। It is a mixture of epic, ancient legends and didactic (instructive of morals) matter divided into 18

books called Parvas with a suppliment called हरिवंश as the 19th book. The eighteen books are —(1) आदिपर्व (2) सभापर्व (3) वनपर्व (4) विराटपर्व (5) उद्योगपर्व (6) भीष्मपर्व (7) द्रोणपर्व (8) कर्णपर्व (9) शल्यपर्व (10) सौप्तिकपर्व (11) स्त्रीपर्व (12) शान्तिपर्व (13) अनुशासनपर्व (14) अश्वमेधपर्व (15) आश्रमवासिकपर्व (16) मौसलपर्व (17) महाप्रस्थानपर्व and (18) स्वर्गारोहणपर्व । All these eighteen books are not of equal length. वन, शान्ति and अनुशासन Parvas are too big while सभा and स्त्रीपर्व are very small. Each पर्व is again subdivided into chapters called Adhyayas.

The supplimentary book हरिवंश deals with Krishna's family history. It contains a little over 16000 verses and is divided into three sections –(1) Krishna's ancestors and his birth ; (2) his sports and exploits and (3) the corruption of Kaliyuga.

The subject matter of the महाभारतं can be analysed into three classes—(1) The Pandava story. (2) Ancient stories and legends and (3) Didactic and ethical sermons. The epic kernel of महाभारत consisting of about 24000 verses describes the story of the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. Within this epic story is added a vast number of old legends of gods, kings and sages. Sometimes a whole work is added to illustrate particular idea such as the नलोपाख्यानम् । In course of time, discourses on philosophy, religion, law and the duties of the various castes and Asramas (stages of life) were freely added to the text as a result of which it became more a स्मृति or धर्मशास्त्र than

an epic poem. This fact is recognised in the following verse of the महाभारत itself :—

" धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित् ।। "

The Date of Mahabharata or The Three stages in the development of Mahabharata and their dates

According to Prof. Macdonell, महाभारतं must have passed through three stages of development before it assumed its present shape. There are indications in the महाभारत itself that the work has passed through three stages The following verses found in the अनुक्रमणिकापर्व of महाभारत indicate the extent of the work in those three stages :—

1. " अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
अहं वेद्मि शुको वेत्ति सञ्जयो वेत्ति वा न वा ।। " 1-81

2. " चतुर्विंशति साहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद्भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥" 1-102

3. " इदं शतसहस्रं तु श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
उपाख्यानैः सह ज्ञेयं महाभारतमुत्तमम् ॥" 1-101

(आद्यं भारतमुत्तमं इति पाठान्तरम्)

These verses suggest that, in the first stage the epic had a little over 8000 verses, in the second stage it consisted of 24000 verses and in the third stage it contained one lakh of verses. It is also probable that the work had three

different names—जयम्, भारतं and महाभारतं in the three stages respectively. The opening verse

" नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव (व्यासं) ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ "

refers to the work by the earlier name जयम् । The fact that the epic passed through three persons—व्यास, वैशंपायन and उग्रश्रवस्, the सूत also supports the view of Prof. Macdonell regarding the three stages. Further, the subject matter and the style, when subjeted to careful examination, may also justify the above view.

The First stage—The original and the most ancient part of the epic must have had a historical theme—a conflict between the two ancient tribes, the Kurus and the Panchalas. These two tribes quarrelled for a long time and finally became united into a single people. The Yajurveda speaks of the union of the Kurus and Panchalas and therefore the historical conflict between these two tribes must have taken place, (even according to Prof. Macdonell) before the tenth century B.C. (धृतराष्ट्र son of विचित्रवीर्य is also mentioned in काठकं, one of the branches of the कृष्णयजुर्वेद).

Various authors who lived in the days of the great conflict between the two tribes must have composed battle songs describing the fights and glorifying their heroes These old battle-songs, it is presumed, must have been handed down by word of mouth and recited in popular assemblies and public sacrifices. At a later stage some poetic genious must have collected these songs and worked

them up into a comparatively short epic describing the tragic fate of the Kurus. This perhaps forms the first stage of the महाभारत when it was also known by the name जयम् Victory because the work described the victory of the Pandavas. Prof, Macdonell says that, in this earliest stage the Kauravas were represented as virtuous men who were treacherously defeated by the Pandavas with the help of Krishna.

This stage must have been completed before the 5th century B.C. The आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रम् which belongs to the 5th century B.C. refers to a work called भारतम्. In the पाली literature we find God ब्रह्मा occupying the most prominent position among the gods in the time of Buddha. In the first stage of महाभारत too, ब्रह्मा is represented as the supreme god. Therefore it can be safely assumed that the old disconnected battle-songs were worked up into a single literary work by one व्यास (arranger) sometime before the 5th centnry B.C. Mahabharata mentions a writer गणेश who wrote the work when व्यास dictated. So this work must have been composed after writing was invented.

The Second Stage: In the second stage the work was enlarged by narrating the whole life story of the Pandavas in the epic style. Here the Pandavas were represented in a favourable light and कृष्ण was proclaimed as an incarnation of विष्णु. This extension of the original work to about 24000 verses must have taken place between 400 B.C., and the beginning of the Christian era, In this second

stage, Vishnu and Siva have become more prominent than Brahma. Megastenes who came to India in about 300 B.C. has recorded that Siva and Vishnu were the prominent gods of the Hindus in those days and that the Hindus were divided into two sects—the Saivites and the Vaishnavites. The Greeks (यवनाः) and the Seythians (शकाः) are mentioned as allies of the Kurus in the second stage. Hindu temples and Buddhist relic mounds are also referred to here. Therefore it can be safely concluded that the second stage of the महाभारतं assumed shape between 400 B.C., and the beginning of the christian era.

The Third Stage: The epic describing the life and exploits of the Pandavas who were regarded as national heroes became very popular among the kings and nobles. It began to influence the thoughts and behaviour of the people. The Brahmins were quick to utilise the popularity and influence of the epic to propagate their religion and moral codes known as वर्णाश्रमधर्म । This they did by adding didactic matter and ancient stories of Gods and sages to the epic. In course of time, the epic assumed the shape of a vast treatise on धर्मशास्त्र Thus महाभारतं developed into a work of hundred thousand verses dealing with various topics of religion, moral, law etc., in addition to the stories of kings, national heroes, sages etc. Hence it was regarded not as a mere epic but as an authority on धर्म. Even the status of a fifth Veda was given to it "भारतः पञ्चमो वेदः ."

The third stage of Mahabharata must have been completed before the 5th century A,D. There are severa

inscriptions of land grants dating between 462 A.D., and 532 A.D., which mention महाभारत of one hundred thousand verses as an authority on धर्म. One of the inscriptions speaks of the महाभारत consisting of more than a lakh of verses compiled by the greatest sage Vyasa, the son of Parasara. This as well as the several land grants which assign lands for the exposition of धर्म through the reading of महाभारत in the temples show that in the middle of the 5th century A.D., the महाभारत had already possessed its present character of a स्मृति or धर्मशास्त्रम्. It is only reasonable to suppose that it had acquired this character at least a century earlier.

The literary evidence of Sanskrit authors provides a considerable amount of information about the state of Mahabharata during the period of A.D., 600 to A.D., 1100. बाण the author of कादम्बरी, and सुबन्धु of वासवदत्ता—both belonging to the early seventh centuary A.D., have studied all the eighteen Parvas of Mahābhārata and even the supplementary book हरिवंश and have utilised the legends from those Parvas to embellish their works. Bāna also refers to the recitation of महाभारतं daily in the महाकाल temple of उज्जयिनी. From this it can be reasonably inferred that this epic was recognised as a sacred book (स्मृति or पञ्चमो वेद:) in Bāna's time. An inscription from Kamboja belonging to about A.D. 600 states that copies of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana along with a Purāna were presented to a temple and arrangements were made for their daily recitation. Kumārila Bhatta, the great Mīmāmasaka of the early

eighth centuary A.D., has quoted from महाभारतं and has treated it as a work of sacred tradition and of great antiquity. The Vedantist Śankarācharya who wrote his commentaries on the Upanishads, the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgita towards the end of the 8th., centuary A.D., quotes Mahābhārata as a Smriti. आनन्दवर्धन of the 9th. centuary A.D., refers to महाभारतं as a work possessing the traits of काव्य and शास्त्र and establishes शान्त as the predominent sentiment of the work. क्षेमेन्द्र of the eleventh centuary A.D., has condensed the story of Mahābhārata in his poem भारतमञ्जरी from which we know that Kshemendra's original did not differ from the महाभारतं of the present day.

Authorship of Mahabharatam

Traditionally the authorship of महाभारतं is attributed to the great sage व्यास (कृष्णद्वैपायन), son of पराशर. Historians find it impossible to accept this view. As already pointed out, many ancient stories and didactic discourses of different periods and authors are found included in the work which had developed into its present form in three stages. Therefore the historians say that Vyasa to whose authorship the work is attributed, cannot be an individual but must be the name of a religious seat. The word व्यास according to महाभारत itself means 'one who arranges'—" विव्यास वेदान् यस्मात्सः तस्माद् व्यास इति स्मृतः". So the word व्यास must be a title attached to a religious seat (व्यासपीठ) and its occupant. Successive

religious heads who occupied that पीठ were all known as Vyasas like the Sankaracharyas of to-day and it is quite reasonable to assume that the works of different authors were collected and arranged into a single work by the occupants of the व्यासपीठ and hence, in later times, the work was attributed to one कृष्णद्वैपायनव्यास ।

Influence of Mahābharata in later literature

Several episodes of Mahābharata have supplied plots for a number of later poems and dramas. The episode of नल and चमयन्ती is a popular one that has been handled by many poets. The नलचम्पू: of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट of 10th centuary A.D., नैषधीयचरितं of श्रीहर्ष of the 12th centuary A.D., and नलचरितनाटकं of नीलकण्ठदीक्षित of the 17th centuary A.D., are some of them. The शाकुन्तलं of Kalidasa, the वेणीसंहार of भट्टनारायण, the किरातार्जुनीयं of भारवि and the शिशुपालवध of माघ are some of the well known works based on the Mahabharata. Prose-writers like बाण and सुबन्धु have embellished their works by alluding to the various legends of this great epic. Several dramas of the early dramatist भास such as कर्णभारं, दूतवाक्यं etc., have their plot drawn from महाभारतम्

The great philosophical work, श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता finds a rightful place in महाभारतम्. While the ancient poets and philosophers of India considered it as belonging to the original महाभारतं, the historians of modern times feel that such a great philosophical discourse could not have taken place in the battlefield and therefore it must have been a later addition.

The हरिवंश which may be regarded as a separate पुराण considering its matter and length is treated only as a suppliment to the Mahabharata.

There is a good commentary for the whole of महाभारत written by नीलकण्ठ, a महाराष्ट्रब्राह्मण of about the 16th century There are also a few other commentaries to certain portions of the epic but the commentary of नीलकण्ठ is the best and complete. The earliest commentator of Mahabharata is one सर्वज्ञनारायण, large fragments of whose notes have been preserved.

The Puranas (200 B.C., to 500 A.D.)

The word पुराण means "**ancient tales**". There are references to इतिहास and पुराण in the vedic texts and also in the Sutra texts of आपस्तम्ब, गौतम and others. Even महाभारत refers to old पुराण works. These references show that there were पुराण works even in the vedic period describing ancient legends and stories such as the lives of kings, sages and heroes. But the Puranas that we have now are of later origin though many of them contain portions from the earlier puranas which have now become extinct. The existing पुराण literature is closely connected with the महाभारत and many of them derive their old legends from the महाभारत itself. The Puranas are eighteen in number which are didactic in character and sectarian in purpose.

All these Puranas were narrated by सूत to शौनक and and other sages in the नैमिश forest. The purpose of these Puranas was to teach morals and provide inducements for the worship of different Gods. Though पुराण means ancient stories, most of the existing Puranas contain many modern stories and deal with modern subjets. According to tradition, the purpose of पुराण is the उपबृंहण (expansion of the teachings) of the Vedas. It is expected to contain five topics—(1) The creation of the universe, (2) its destruction and fresh creation, (3) the geneologies of gods, sages and kings, (4), ages of different Manus and (5) the history of the dynasties that originated from the Sun and the Moon.

"सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥"

The existing Puranas contain, in addition to the above, a large number of topics unconnected with these subjects.

Date of the Puranas: It is not possible to fix the correct date of Puranas since they contain matters of old and modern periods mixed up. The authorship of all these Puranas is attributed to व्यास by tradition but historians cannot accept this. Some of the earlier Puranas such as the विष्णुपुराण must have been composed before the second century B.C., by collecting the fragments of earlier works and arranging them by adding fresh matter. Since sectarian matter such as the worship of Vishnu, Siva or Durga etc.,

predominate in most of these works, they could not have been composed earlier than 3rd century B.C. Some of these Puranas refer to Maurya, Gupta and certain other dynasties but none of them refer to king Harsha of the 7th century A.D., and later dynasties. Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharya consider the Puranas as स्मृति—i.e. authorities in law. A minimum of two centuries have to be allowed for the works to attain such a status. Hence it can be definitely stated that the Puranas should have assumed a defininte shape not much different from the present one, before the sixth century A.D. Thus the period of the Puranas may be fixed as 200 B.C. to 500 A.D.

The Puranas are generally in the form of conversation between two or more persons on various topics connected with the Hindu way of life, Hindu culture and manners, religious ceremonies, festivals, political history, philosophy etc. Since religious and moral precepts are taught here through the medium of interesting stories that could be understood by everyone, the Puranas gained great popularity among the common people. Most of the Puranas give the list of the 18 Puranas but the lists are found to have some variations. Apart from the 18 puranas that are attributed to the authorship of Vyasa, tradition attributes 18 Upapuranas to the authorship of पराशर । The existence of these upapuranas is one of the reasons for the variations in the lists of Puranas. The 18 Puranas usually enumerated are :—

(1) विष्णुपुराणम् (2) नारदपुराणम्

(3) पद्मपुराणम् (4) गरुडपुराणम्

(5) वराहपुराणम् (6) श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणम्
(7) ब्रह्मपुराणम् (8) ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम्
(9) ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम् (10) मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्
(11) भविष्यपुराणम् (12) वामनपुराणम्
(13) शिवपुराणम् (14) लिङ्गपुराणम्
(15) स्कन्दपुराणम् (16) अग्निपुराणम्
(17) मत्स्यपुराणम् (18) कूर्मपुराणम्

Among the Upapuranas वायु, नरसिंह, सौर, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, कालिक and गणेश Puranas are very prominent. In the list of Puranas some include देवीभागवतं and वायुपुराणं instead of श्रीमद्भागवतं and अग्निपुराणम् or शिवपुराणम्.

The 18 Puranas are usually classified into three groups —(1) The Satvika Puranas, (2) The Rajasa Puranas and (3) The Tamasa Puranas. The first six in the above list are सात्विक Puranas which glorify Vishnu. The next six are राजस Puranas which extole ब्रह्मा and the last six are तामस Puranas which glorify शिव. This classification is not strictly correct since some of the Puranas like the मार्कण्डेय, भविष्य etc., are not sectarian in their purpose though they are dedicated to particular Gods. These Puranas contain a lot of information that throw light on the development of the Hindu thought and culture from the time of the Vedas upto about 500 A.D.

(1) विष्णुपुराणम्—This is perhaps the oldest of the Puranas. It observes the definition of the Puranas

—" सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च " etc., very closely. This पुराण was narrated by पराशर to his disciple मैत्रेय. This is a very popular पुराण from which शङ्कराचार्य quotes very often in his works. The incarnations of विष्णु are described here. Since the Maurya dynasty is mentioned here this work must have been composed at about the second century B.C.

(2) नारदपुराणम्—In this Purana the sages सनत्कुमार and others expound to नारद the doctrine of विष्णुभक्ति। The importance of this doctrine is illustrated through many interesting stories. This Purana also contains descriptions of feasts and ceremonies observed by the devotees of Vishnu.

(3) पद्मपुराणम्—This is a huge Purana consisting of 55000 verses divided into six sections called Khandas. The सृष्टिखण्ड deals with creation and also the geneology of kings. The भूमिखण्ड contains descriptions of many sacred places of pilgrimage. The स्वर्गखण्ड and पातालखण्ड describe the respective regions while the उत्तरखण्ड contains an account of the mystic lotus from which Brahma sprang. The work derives its title ' पद्म ' from this. The last section called the क्रियायोगसार gives an account of the vows and ceremonies to be observed by the devotees of विष्णु.

पद्मपुराण also contains the stories of Rama and his ancestors and also the story of शकुन्तला in almost the same manner as Kalidasa has described them in his रघुवंश and अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्. The historians say that these portions in the पुराण must have been added at a later stage after कालिदास had composed his works.

(4) गरुडपुराणम्—This was narrated by Vishnu to his vehicle गरुड. It dwells at length on various ceremonies relating to the worship of Vishnu and other gods and also contains miscellaneous subjects. The second half of the work deals with the conditions of the soul after death and tells in detail the significance of the funeral rites.

(5) वराहपुराणम्—This was narrated by विष्णु in the form of a boar वराह to the earth. The major part of this purana is devoted for describing the daily life of the devotees of विष्णु.

(6) श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणम्—This is perhaps the most popular of the Puranas frequently read in all parts of India even to-day. It has been translated in almost all the major languages of India. It consists of 18000 verses divided into twelve books called स्कन्धाः । The tenth स्कन्ध which deals with the story of Lord Krishna is the most popular part of this पुराण । 24 incarnations of Lord Vishnu, are described in this work and it contains a large number of devotional poems (स्तुति) which are unsurpassed in their excellent style and highly philosophical contents.

Some scholars include देवीभागवत among the Puranas and treat श्रीमद्भागवतं as the 19th Purana. This idea is supported by the story which says that Vyasa had no peace of mind even after composing the 18 Puranas and the great इतिहास, the Mahabharata, and so he was asked by नारद to write a work dealing with the incarnations of विष्णु and extoling विष्णुभक्ति । This Vyasa did by writing the श्रीमद्भागवतम्.

There is some controversy regarding the date and authorship of this work since Sankaracharya of the late 8th century A.D., and Ramanujacharya of the 11th century A.D., have not quoted from this work while they have quoted freely from the विष्णुपुराण. Sri माध्वाचार्य of the 12th century A.D., treats this work as an authority like महाभारत and quotes profusely from it. In any case this work must have been composed before 10th century A.D., as otherwise Madhvacharya could not have regarded it on a par with the महाभारतं and it would not have had so many good commentaries like the श्रीधरी, तोषणी etc..

(7) ब्रह्मपुराणम्—This is also known as आदिपुराणं and is always given the first place in the list of Puranas. It was narrated by ब्रह्मा to दक्षप्रजापति। Besides giving the the usual subjects of the Puranas, it also gives as account of holy places known as तीर्थमाहात्म्यम्।

(8) ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम्—As the name itself suggests, this Purana expounds the theory that the whole universe is a विवर्त (illusory transformation) of Brahman, the Supreme Being. This work is divided into four sections —(1) ब्रह्मखण्ड, (2) प्रकृतिखण्ड, (3) गणेशखण्ड and (4) कृष्ण-जन्मखण्ड. It is in the fourth section of this Purana that we find the Radha-Krishna episodes described in some detail. Krishna is the Supreme God and Radha is Maya who is inseparable from him but always controlled by him. Goloka is their abode which is far beyond Vaikuntha, and the great devotees who have attained सारूप्य with कृष्ण also live there. It seems the source of Jayadeva's गीतगोविन्दम् is the कृष्णजन्मखण्ड in ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणम्। This पुराण also contains a good number of स्थलमाहात्म्यम्।

(9) ब्रह्माण्डपुराणम्—This is rather a miscellaneous collection of Mahatmyas and stotras. The popular अध्यात्मरामायणम् is included in this Purana. This is in the form of a dialogue between Siva and Parvati. The पुराण derives its name from the description of the golden egg from which the universe is evolved.

(10) मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्—This is one of the old and interesting Puranas. It gives an elaborate account of creation and deluge (सृष्टि and प्रलय). Stories of the Vedic Gods like सूर्य, अग्नि etc., are narrated here. Being closely connected with the Vedas this must be one of the most ancient of the Puranas. The popular देवीमाहात्म्यं, otherwise called दुर्गासप्तशती is included in this. Another interesting feature of this पुराण is the account of sage जैमिनि who was directed to go to four wise birds which give answers to all his questions.

(11) भविष्यपुराणम्—This gives prophetic account of the future, particularly the कलियुग. It also contains a lot of information regarding the duties of the four castes and the worship of the Sun, Agni and the Nagas.

(12) वामनपुराणम्—This begins with the narration of the story of वामनावतारं and then proceeds to deal with the worship of लिङ्ग and pilgrimage to शिव temples.

(13) शिवपुराणम्—This forms part of वायुपुराणं and hence many lists include Vayupurana in the place of शिवपुराणम् । बाण of the 7th century A.D., refers to the recitation of वायुपुराण in his village. This glorifies the worship of Siva and is narrated by वायु The Gupta kings are mentioned in this work and hence it is supposed to have been composed some where in the 5th or early 6th century A.D.

(14) लिङ्गपुराणम्—As the name suggests this glorifies Siva in the form of लिङ्ग and describes the 28 incarnations of शिव.

(15) स्कन्दपुराणम्—This is a big पुराण consisting of 81000 verses divided into six books called Samhitas. The famous सूतसंहिता and the काशीखण्ड describing the sanctity of Kasi or Varanasi are parts of this Purana. The birth of the war-god स्कन्द or सुब्रह्मण्य and his exploits are narrated here. The portion dealing with the marriage of Siva and Parvati bears close resemblance with the कुमारसंभव of Kalidasa. The Saivite philosophy is expounded here in detail.

(16) अग्निपुराणम्—This purana was narrated by अग्नि to वसिष्ठ. Apart from dealing with the शिव and दुर्गा cults elaborately, this पुराण contains many modern topics. It is almost an encyclopaedia in its contents dealing with subjects like आयुर्वेद, शिल्पशास्त्रं, ज्योतिषं and even अलङ्कारशास्त्रम्.

(17) मत्स्यपुराणम्—This was narrated by विष्णु in the form of a fish to मनु, the first king after the deluge. This deals with स्थलमाहात्म्यं, festivals, omens and the rites observed by the Saivaites and Vaishnavites. It contains references to South India and South Indian Architecture.

(18) कूर्मपुराणम्—This was narrated by Vishnu in his incarnation as a tortoise. It advocates the worship of Siva and deals with the incarnations of शिव.

The Puranas in general deal with the origin of the universe, its destruction, the geographical divisions of the

world, the nature of the people inhabiting the various parts of the world, the dynasties that ruled over them, the political divisions of India in different periods of history, the important places of pilgrimage and the religious and social practices of the different people of India. They also contain stories of the incarnations of various Gods and their exploits, long discourses on the duties of the four main castes, the greatness of charity, compassion, sacrifice and such other virtuous deeds and also lessons on literature, music, dance, architecture etc. Though the Puranas are not important from the point of history, they contain very valuable information for a student of Indian culture, philosophy, ethics and religion. A correct understanding of the everyday life in ancient India can be had by a study of the Puranas. Since moral precepts and rules of good conduct and behaviour were taught through interesting stories in the Puranas, they became very popular among the common people.

॥ श्रीमद्वाल्मीकि रामायणम् ॥

Ramayana is the first ornate poetry composed by a single author, वाल्मीकि. It served as a model for later poets. So we are dealing with रामायण just before the consideration of court epics (Mahakavyas) though, chronologically, we should have dealt with it even before Mahabharatam.

In its present form रामायणं consists of about 24000 verses divided into seven books called Kandas—बालकाण्डं, अयोध्याकाण्डं, आरण्यकाण्डं, किष्किन्धाकाण्डं, सुन्दरकाण्डं, युद्धकाण्डं, and उत्तरकाण्डम्. This was the first metrical work dealing with secular subject and hence it is called आदिकाव्यं and its

author वाल्मीकि is known as आदिकवि. Before this, metrical language was found employed only in the Vedas which are purely religious in their content. It is said that Valmiki composed this work in 24000 verses using the 24 letters of गायत्रीमन्त्र as the first syllable of the 24 verses at intervals of 1000 verses. All the present day editions of Ramayana contain many interpollations and hence it is very difficult to identify the verses beginning with the letters of गायत्री.

The Origin of Ramayana

The circumstances under which the sage Valmiki composed Ramayana is narrated in the first four sargas of the text itself. Sita who was abandoned by Rama was given shelter by Valmiki in his Asrama where she gave birth to twins to whom the sage gave the names कुश and लव ।. The children were growing under his tutelage and his mind was naturally pre-occupied with the thought of Rama, his actions and character. It was at this time the sage नारद came there and questioned by Valmiki about the ideal person on earth at that time, pointed out to Rama as the ideal man and gave a brief account of his character, life and exploits. After Narada's deparature Valmiki went to the river Tamasa for his mid-day ablution, his thoughts centered on what Narada had said. There he saw a hunter shooting down dead the male bird from a pair and the female bird crying bitterly at the seperation from its mate. His mind filled with remorse, Valmiki cursed the hunter to be unhappy for a long time. The curse which was the result of his heart overflowing with the emotion of करुण (pity or compassion) came out

of his mouth spontaneously in the form of an ornate verse in the श्लोक metre as :—

"मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठाँ त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥"

Thinking about the metrical language in which the curse was pronounced unwittingly in a state of emotionally charged mind and brooding over it, he performed his duties in the river and returned to the Asrama. There the creator appeared before him and directed him to compose the story of Rama in the same sloka metre. He also blessed the sage by giving him the power to know all necessary details of Rama's life through mental vision. After the creator had gone Valmiki composed the epic poem Ramayana.

Historians find it difficult to accept the above account regarding the natural origin of the poem. They trace the origin of Ramayana to the songs composed by various authors of Kosala describing the exploits and heroism of Rama, a noble and popular prince of Ayodhya, and sung by the bards while narrating the story of the prince for entertainment. These popular songs, they say, must have been collected and worked up into a single epic poem by Valmiki in an artistic style, strictly conforming to the rules of poetics. This was orally transmitted by Valmiki to the two sons of Rama who, in turn, sang it in the presence of Rama during the performance of अश्वमेध sacrifice. According to the historians, even the names लव and कुश refer to कुशीलव—actors or bards who are the professional performers and singers.

There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that Valmiki, a contemporary of Rama, collected songs composed by earlier authors and worked them up into a single connected poem. Such a theory may have some probability in the case of Mahabharata but never with reference to Ramayana.

Development of Ramayana :—Two stages are pointed out by modern critics in the development of the Ramayana. Prof. Jacobi, after a careful study of the work as it is to-day, came to the conclusion that Ramayana originally consisted of only five Kandas beginning with अयोध्याकाण्डं and ending with the coronation of Rama in युद्धकाण्डम्. बालकाण्डं and उत्तरकाण्डं are later additions This conclusion of Jacobi is mainly based on the following arguments :—

(1) The logical conclusion of the plot is found in the coronation of Rama. The story is complete with रामपट्टाभिषेकं and even now the usual recitation of रामायण stops with it. Therefore उत्तरकाण्ड must be treated as a later addition.

(2) In बालकाण्ड and उत्तरकाण्ड Rama is spoken as an incarnation of विष्णु while in the other five kandas he has been treated only as human hero.

(3) Again, in the existing first and seventh books, there are many stories which have no direct bearing on the main plot of Ramayana while in books two to six, a single connected story is narrated in the Kavya style. The stories of ऋष्यश्रृङ्ग, विश्वामित्र, गङ्गावतरणं etc., narrated

in बालकाण्ड, have no connection with the story of Rama and the उत्तरकाण्ड consisting of biographical notes on the characters of the original story and can only be treated as a supplement added at a later stage. It may be that these stories were added later, on the model of Mahabharata.

(4) In the first सर्ग of बालकाण्ड where नारद briefly narrates the story of Rama to Valmiki, there is no mention of the incidents described in the बालकाण्ड and उत्तरकाण्डम्. This is a clear indication in support of Jacobi's view. In the third sarga of बालकाण्ड there is another list of contents which includes the incidents of बाल and उत्तर Kandas. This list must have been a later addition after the Balakanda and Uttarakanda were added to the original text.

(5) The Indian poets usually conclude their works with a happy incident. Rama's coronation described at the end of युद्धकाण्ड provides a happy and natural ending to the work. The seventh book (उत्तरकाण्ड) ends with the disappearance of all the main characters which is generally regarded as unhappy and inauspicious. Therefore Valmiki must have ended his work with Rama's coronation. The orthodox Hindus even to-day end their नवाहपारायणं of वाल्मीकिरामायणं with रामपट्टाभिषेकम्.

(6) In the बालकाण्डं and उत्तरकाण्डं there are certain statements which are contradictory to some of the statements in the other kandas. To give one example, in Balakanda लक्ष्मण is said to have married ऊर्मिला while in आरण्यकाण्ड Rama directs शूर्पणखा to Lakshmana saying that he is not married.

Accepting the above arguments and the conclusion of Prof. Jacobi, A. A. Macdonell explains the abrupt beginning of the Ayodhyakanda (which cannot be a proper beginning of the great epic) by suggesting that there were originally a few cantos at the beginning of the Ayodhyakanda which were later on separated from अयोध्याकाण्ड and were included in the newly added बालकाण्डम्. According to him the fifth canto of the present बालकाण्ड which begins with the verse—"सर्वां पूर्वमियं येषामासीत् कृत्स्ना वसुन्धरा । प्रजापतिमुपादाय नृपाणां जयशालिनाम् " etc., would have been the beginning of the original अयोध्याकाण्ड. This canto describing the greatness of the इक्ष्वाकु dynasty, the Kosala country and the city of Ayodhya could have been a proper beginning of the original Ramayana.

In spite of the strong reasoning of the western critics, it is possible to maintain that all the seven books of the Ramayana were composed by a single author, वाल्मीकि. Ancient Indian poets like भास, कालिदास, भवभूति, and दिङ्नाग, and the great Indian critic आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य have all accepted बाल and उत्तरकाण्ड as genuine parts of Valmiki's रामायणम्. The long tradition of the poets and the critical view of आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य cannot be easily brushed aside. Of course, there are interpollations as in any other ancient work (except the Vedas) and the disparity in style and contradictions, if any, can be attributed to these interpollations. It is also not correct to say that Rama is described only as a human hero in the five kandas There are several occasions such as जटायुमोक्ष, विभीषणशरणागति, नागास्त्रबन्धनमोक्ष, the अग्निशुद्धि of सीता etc., where वाल्मीकि has expressely and suggestively referred to the divinity of Rama. The following verses could not have been uttered by Rama if Valmiki had treated him only as a human being—

या गतिर्यज्ञशीलानां आहिताग्नेश्च या गतिः ।
अपरावर्तिनां या च या च भूमिप्रदायिनाम् ।।
मया त्वं समनुज्ञातो गच्छ लोकाननुत्तमान् ।
गृध्रराज महासत्त्व संस्कृतश्च मया व्रज ।।

[रा-अर. 68-29-30

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते ।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो दास्यामीति व्रतं मम ।।

[रा. यु. 18-33]

The Date of Ramayana. (Before 500 B.C.)

वाल्मीकि is said to have transmitted this work orally to लव and कुश while महाभारत is said to have been written by गणेश when व्यास dictated. This is a clear indication to the fact that रामायण was composed before writing was invented. Mahabharata quotes a few verses of वाल्मीकि and reproduces the story of रामायण. Therefore रामायण must be assigned a much earlier date than the Mahabharata. Again, in रामायण the whole of South India is said to be a forest region inhabited by demons and monkeys while many kingdoms of the South are mentioned in the महाभारत. अर्जुन is said to have conqured the Pandyas. All these facts point to a date of रामायण which should be much earlier than the date of महाभारत. We have already concluded that the first stage of the Mahabharata must have been completed before the 5th century B.C. The रामायण must be placed at least one century before that and hence we may say that रामायण must have been composed before the 6th century B.C.

There are also other evidences which support the above conclusion. The Buddhist work दशरथजातकम् written in Pali language somewhere in the 4th century B.C., closely follows the रामायण of वाल्मीकि. Moreover, Buddhist works and later Sanskrit writers like पतञ्जलि, कालिदास etc., use the name साकेत for the capital of Kosala country while in रामायण this name is not mentioned at all. Valmiki refers to the capital city only by the name अयोध्या which was the older name. Historians say that Ayodhya was renamed साकेत sometime before the date of Buddha (480 B.C.)

The city of Pataliputra (modern Patna) was founded in about 380 B.C., by Kalasoka. This city is not mentioned in the रामायण though Viswamitra must have taken Rama and Lakshmana through that very spot. All these evidences clearly show that रामायण must have been composed before 500 B.C., when even the first stage (the epic kernel) of the Mahabharata had not taken a definite shape.

Even if बालकाण्डं and उत्तरकाण्डं are treated as later additions, they must have been added before the second century B.C., since Kalidasa of the first century B.C., and अश्वघोष of first century A.D., have known Ramayana in its present form.

Subject matter of Ramayana—The story of the Ramayana as narrated in the five kandas beginning with अयोध्याकाण्ड can be divided into two sections with regard to the nature of the subject matter. The first part consisting of the whole of Ayodhyakanda described the events

in the court of Dasaratha. Here we have a natural account of human feelings and the plots of an irate woman who wanted to set her son upon the throne. There is nothing unreal or un-natural in the whole of this section.

In the second part beginning with the आरण्यकाण्ड there are many unnatural and marvellous incidents described. This section is laid on the foundation of Hindu Mythology. Lasser and Weber expressed the view that this second part of Ramayana allegorically represents the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the Dravidians of the South. This view cannot be substantiated by internal or external evidences. Rama is no where described or at least hinted as the founder of an Aryan empire. He did not annex किष्किन्धा or लङ्का after killing Vali and Ravana. Nowhere in the Ramayana Valmiki has hinted of such an intention on the part of Rama. Western scholars have put forward various theories about the significance of the second part of Ramayana which are far-fetched and lack confirmation from the statements of the epic. The theory of Ramayana was meant to account for the spread of Aryan culture to the South and to Ceylon has no basis since Rama's expedition has not been represented as having produced any change or improvement in the culture or civilisation of the South. According to Ramayana the South was a region haunted by monkeys, monsters and fabulous beings.

Prof. Jacobi put forward a strange theory according to which the second part of Ramayana is based on the vedic mythology of the वृत्र incident. Because there are a few coincidents in the two stories such as—वृत्र was a demon

and Ravana too a demon. वृत्र carried away the cows (clouds) of Indra and hid them beyond the seas while रावण carried away Rama's wife Sita and kept her in Lanka beyond the seas. Rama killed Ravana and got back Sita like Indra killed वृत्र and recovered the cows. Rama was helped by मारुति while Indra was helped by Maruts etc.,—it is not reasonable to conclude that one is based on the other. The theory of Greek influence too cannot be substantiated since Ramayana was composed much earlier than the Indians had any contact with the Greek people or their literature.

The style of Ramayana is simple though highly ornate. It represents the dawn of Kavya style. Valmiki is rich in figures of speech, particularly the simile (उपमा) and स्वभावोक्ति. He is unsurpassed in depicting the sentiment of करुण, the main रस of रामायण. Great Indian poets like Kalidasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhuti and others got their inspiration from Valmiki. Indian authors and critics have recognised the greatness of Valmiki and his work by refering to them as आदिकवि and आदिकाव्यम्. No work in Sanskrit Literature has enjoyed greater popularity in India than the Ramayana. This great work has influenced and moulded the character of Indians for generations up to the present day. Valmiki himself say :—

"यावत्स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।
तावद्रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥"

This prophecy has been more than abundantly fulfilled by the popularity of the Ramayana even to-day. No other poem in the entire literature of the world has

influenced the thought and culture of a nation as the रामायण. Its story has formed the subject matter of many works in Sanskrit and the regional languages of India.

Ramayana has been translated in almost all Indian languages. Great poets like Tulasi Das and Kambar had their inspiration from Valmiki and their classical works in Hindi and Tamil are even to-day regarded as sacred books by millions.

Ramayana and Mahabharata—A contrast

The Mahabharata is a mixture of epic and didactic poetry while Ramayana is an epic and ornate poetry. Throughout Mahabharata we come across a warlike spirit and rough manners while Ramayana represents a more gentle and refined society. The bitterness and the fierce hatred that we find between Bhima and Dussasana or Karna and Arjuna is not found between Rama and Ravana. Even under trying circumstances Sita maintains a certain amount of calmness in her speech. There is no trace of that wild passion in Sita which is often found in the speeches of Draupadi. Kunti and Gandhari possess a heroic spirit that is worthy of Kshatriya women and very often they interfere in the affairs of the state. Kausalya and Kaikeyi in Ramayana exhibit no heroic spirit and they also do not interfere with state affairs. The student may also refer to a few more points of contrast given earlier under the title—'The epics'.

IV. Maha Kavyas or Court Epics
(200 B.C. to A.D. 1100)

Artificial epic poetry in Sanskrit must have had its origin and development from very early period—centuries before the commencement of the christian era. The Ramayana represents the dawn of artificial epic poetry or काव्यं and it is reasonable to assume that ornate poetry continued to be cultivated from the time of Valmiki and had an independant and natural development. Many of the early works are now lost and the dates of the existing ones have not been fixed with any amount of certainty. There is some indefiniteness in tracing the history of court epics till about the middle of the 7th century A.D., when definite dates begin to appear in Sanskrit Literature. The date of Kalidasa, if fixed with some amount of definiteness, will be very helpful in tracing the development of Kavya literature. So we will first discuss the date of Kalidasa and then proceed to trace the origin and development of Mahakavyas.

Date of Kalidasa

It is rather unfortunate that we do not possess any definite information about the date and life of Kalidasa, the greatest of Indian poets. The stories current among the people of India about the personal life of the poet have no historical value. Tradition associates the name of Kalidasa with king Bhoja of Dhara but it is impossible to accept this tradition since there are other records to prove that Kalidasa lived much earlier. The earliest historical record mentioning the name of कालिदास is the

'Aihole' inscription of A.D., 634, wherein Kalidasa is mentioned along with another poet भारवि—"स विजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकालिदास-भारविकीर्तिः।" बाण in the introduction of his हर्षचरितं refers to Kalidasa thus :—

"निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥"

These two references make it clear that कालिदास had become a famous poet in the 7th century A.D., and that he cannot be assigned to a date later than the 6th century A.D.

Having got this upper limit, scholars have put forward various theories about the date of Kalidasa. The following are the three important dates assigned to him by the exponents of three different theories—(1) Sir William Jones placed Kalidasa in the first century B.C. (2) Prof. A. B. Keith and Vincent Smith assigned him to the fourth century A.D. (3) Prof. Max Muller placed him in the sixth century A.D.

Prof. Max Muller who had very little material before him relied on the tradition of 'nine gems' in the court of Vikramaditya and expounded the famous Renaissance Theory. According to the theory there was a dark age in the literary history of India during the first five centuries of the christian era. This 'dark age' was followed by a glorious period during the reign of King Vikramaditya of the sixth century A.D. विक्रमादित्य was a great patron of literature in whose court were the famous nine poets and scholars who were collectively known as 'the nine gems' :—

" धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कु-
वेतालभट्ट घटकर्पर कालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां
रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

Though many kings in ancient India assumed the title विक्रमादित्य, there was, according to Max Muller, one Vikramaditya in the VI century A.D., in whose court there were many poets and scholars among whom कालि-दास was one. Supporting this theory of Max Muller, Dr. Fergussen propounded a theory that there was one हर्षविक्रमादित्य of उज्जयिनी who defeated the Mlecchas in the battle of Korur in 544 A.D. This हर्षविक्रमादित्य then started a new era in his name (विक्रमाब्द) and dated it back by 600 years in order to give the new era an air of time-honoured antiquity. This theory of Dr. Fergussen was disproved by Dr. Fleet who unearthed inscriptions be-longing to a period earlier than 544 A.D., mentioning the Vikrama Era which was started in 56-55 B.C. One of these inscriptions is the famous वत्सभट्टिशिलाशासनं belonging to 473 A.D. We will hear more about this inscription later.

The verse ' धन्वतरिक्षपणक—etc., which speaks of the nine gems in Vikramaditya's court is found in a work called ज्योतिर्विदाभरणम् which belongs to the 9th century A.D. This verse cannot be relied upon for determining the dates and chronology of authors who lived several centuries earlier. Moreover we know nothing about क्षपणक, शङ्कु and वेतालभट्ट mentioned in that verse and the identity of धन्वन्तरि and वररुचि is still in doubt. Other main arguments in support of assigning कालिदास to the sixth

century A.D., are (1) Kalidasa has referred to two poets named दिङ्नाग and निचुल in मेघसन्देश, who, according to these critics belonged to the 6th century A.D., (2) Kalidasa's reference to the eclipse of the moon as caused by the shadow of the earth—छाया हि भूमेः शशिनोमलत्वेनारोपिता" and his use of the astronomical terms उच्च and जामित्रं indicate that he must have lived after the great astronomer आर्यभट of 499 A.D., who is supposed to have borrowed the terms उच्च etc., from the Greeks.

These arguments cannot stand careful scrutiny. It is very doubtful whether Kalidasa has alluded to the poets दिङ्नाग and निचुल in मेघसन्देश. The eclipse of the moon caused by the shadow of the earth falling on it was known to the Indians even from the Vedic period. The word जामित्र is found used by बोधायन and आश्वलायन in their गृह्य Sutras of about 500 B.C., and वाल्मीकि has used the word उच्च in the Ramayaṇa. Therefore it is wrong to say that the great Indian astronomer आर्यभट borrowed these terms from the Greek and Kalidasa got them from आर्यभटीयम्.

Prof. A.B. Keith and Vincent Smith assigned Kalidasa to the period of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who assumed the title विक्रमादित्य. The arguments of Mr. Keith are mainly based on the astronomical terms used by Kalidasa and the indirect reference to the conquests of the Gupta kings in Raghu's Digvijayam. We have already refuted the arguments based on the astronomical terms and as regards the दिग्विजय of रघु, it is too much to see a reference to the conquest of the Guptas in it. We have got a beautiful account of the दिग्विजय of the sons of Pandu in the Mahabharata and कालिदास

seems to have followed that old tradition of Vyasa in describing Raghu's Digvijayam starting with the east and following the प्रदक्षिण order. Moreover, the advance of the Guptas was checked by the Pandyas while Kalidasa describes their defeat in the hands of Raghu.

A. B. Keith further bases his arguments on the word विक्रम used in the title of the play विक्रमोर्वशीयं and its use for a number of times in the drama which, according to him, suggests the poet's close connection with चन्द्रगुप्त-विक्रमादित्य and his desire to honour his patron. समुद्रगुप्त, the father of Chandragupta II was the last king to perform अश्मेधयाग. Keith says that the अश्वमेध mentioned in मालविका-ग्निमित्रं must be in reference to that sacrifice. Even the naming of the poem कुमारसंभवं, according to him, was to commemorate the birth of Prince Kumaragupta ; and the poet's special attachement for the city of उज्जयिनी was due to the fact that it was Chandragupta II who brought that city under his rule. These arguments completely ignore the existence of a king Vikramaditya of Ujjayini who started the Vikrama era in B.C., 57-56. The significance attached to the words विक्रम and कुमार in the name of the two works does not appear to have been intended by the poet. The अश्वमेध referred to in मालविकाग्निमित्रं is to that sacrifice performed by पुष्यमित्र, the founder of the Sunga dynasty in the 1st century B.C.

Having assumed that Kalidasa belonged to the period of चन्द्रगुप्तविक्रमादित्य, A. B. Keith has quoted instances where, according to him, Kalidasa has borrowed ideas and expressions from अश्वघोष of the first century A.D. A close examination of the works of अश्वघोष and कालिदास would show that the former is the borrower. (The hurried

actions of women in their eagerness to see a marriage procession is more natural than their curiosity to see a young ascetic). Moreover अश्वघोष as a poet is much inferior to Kalidasa and it is not probable that a great genius like Kalidasa would have borrowed from a lesser poet and would have repeated the borrowed matter in two of his major works. It is an accepted fact that poetic style in Sanskrit which was simple in the early period became more and more artificial in course of time. Even a casual reader can find that Kalidasa's style is more simple and natural than the style of अश्वघोष. Therefore it is safer to assume that Kalidasa was earlier than अश्वघोष.

Sir William Jones assigned Kalidasa to the first century B.C. Once it is accepted that Kalidasa was earlier than Asvaghosha, there are many other evidences to support the theory of Sir William Jones. The Vikrama era starts from B.C., 57-56 and it is quite reasonable to presume that there was one Vikrama or Vikramaditya who founded that era. If history has not so far recorded a Vikramaditya in the first century B.C., it is because history of ancient India is still incomplete and imperfect. The Vikrama era was earlier known as Malva era. There were Malva kings in the first century B.C. It is quite probable that one of the Malva kings founded a new era in B.C., 57-56 to commemorate some important event and that king later on assumed the title Vikramaditya.

In मालविकाग्निमित्रं Kalidasa refers to himself as a living poet (वर्तमानकवि) in the prelude and अग्निमित्र. the hero of the play is spoken as the ruling monarch in the

भरतवाक्यम्. This is a clear internal evidence to treat Kalidasa* as a contemporary of अग्निमित्र. In the same work Kalidasa refers to a horse-sacrifice performed by पुष्पमित्र, father of Agnimitra and this incident has been recorded in history. पुष्पमित्र was the founder of the Sunga dynasty in the first century B.C. The suggestion of Prof. Keith that there is an indirect reference here to the horse-sacrifice performed by Samudragupta is unwarrented. Moreover Kalidasa refers to the city of विदिशा as the famous capital—"प्रथितविदिशालक्षणां राजधानीं"—of the Dasarna country. Vidisa is not known in history as the capital of any famous king. Hence the reference of Kalidasa to that city can be only as the capital of अग्निमित्र who established himself as king in that city.

The death penalty prescribed for the crime of theft in Sakuntalam and the law of inheritance as found recorded in the same drama point to a period in the pre-christian era when मनु and आपस्तम्ब were held as supreme authorities in law and याज्ञवल्क्य had not gained much popularity. In रघुवंश too कालिदास quotes मनु as an authority in the matters of state. This shows that Kalidasa must have lived at a time when याज्ञवल्क्य was slowly establishing his authority while the majority of the people still followed the law of मनु. Such a period cannot be later than the first century B.C.

On these and other evidenees we prefer to accept the theory of Sir William Jones and hold that Kalidasa lived in the first century B.C., and he was most probably connected with one king holding the title Vikramaditya who founded the Vikrama or Malva era in 57-56. B.C.

MAHAKAVYAS—Origin and Development

"सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यम्" (Dandin)

We have already pointed out that रामायणं was the first महाकाव्यं and वाल्मीकि was the आदिकवि. The next Poet known is व्यास; the author of महाभारतं which combines the features of both काव्य and शास्त्र. The next author of ornate poetry whose works have been preserved is Kalidasa. Between Vyasa and Kalidasa a few centuries have passed when there was continuous literary activity though no Kavya of that period has been preserved.

Tradition attributes a Kavya called पातालविजयं or जाम्बवतीविजयं to the great grammarian पाणिनि. This work is not available now but we have quotations from Panini's Kavya in later works. The popular example of समासोक्ति—

"उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथागृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथासमस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया पुरोऽपि रागाद्गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥"

is taken from Panini's work and it gives a good idea of the poet's imagery. पतञ्जलि of the 2nd century B.C., has quoted in his व्याकरणमहाभाष्यं many beautiful verses expressing the sentiments of love, heroism and pathos. These verses must have been taken from Kavyas which existed in his time. The variety in the metre and subject matter of these quotations indicates that Kavya literature must have attained a certain amount of development during that period. From Patanjali we also learn that वररुचि the author of the Vartikas wrote a poem from which verses are found quoted in anthologies

Pingala in his छन्दःसूत्रं has dealt with both Vedic and classical metres. He belonged to the end of the Vedic period. वात्स्यायन, the author of कामसूत्रं which exercised great influence on the lyrical and erotic literature must have definitely lived before Kalidasa. Both छन्दःसूत्रं and कामसूत्रं presuppose the existence of Kavyas during their period.

Bharata in his नाट्यशास्त्रं defines and illustrates ten major types of dramas. Dramatic literature is a highly developed form of literature which must have preceded by well developed Kavyas. Bharata who is referred to by Kalidasa must have flourished in the second century B.C., or a little earlier. Thus there was a steady and continuous development of Kavya literature from Valmiki to Kalidasa of first century B.C.

The two great Mahakavyas of Kalidasa-Raghuvamsa and Kumarasambhava belong to the first century B.C., while we have the two works of अश्वघोष—बुद्धचरितं and सौन्दरानन्दं belonging to the first century A. D. According to Buddhist tradition, अश्वघोष was a contemporary of king Kanishka of 57 A.D.

सूत्रालङ्कार a work in mixed prose and verse in काव्य style is now available in fragments. This work at first attributed to Asvaghosha has been later on ascribed to कुमारलाट who must have lived not much later than अश्वघोष.

There are many inscriptions belonging to the गुप्त period (250 to 450 A.D.,) written in classical style which point to the development of kavya literature during that

period. These inscriptions are mostly written in verse and partly in the form of elevated prose. (Most of the Kavyas written during that period are now lost). There is one inscription called समुद्रगुप्तप्रशस्ति written on a pillar at Allahabad. This inscription written by one हरिषेण extoles the greatness of समुद्रगुप्त, a patron of poets. It consists of about 30 lines in verse and another 30 lines in prose. The style of the inscription rivals with that of Kalidasa and Dandin. This inscription is not dated but it must be assigned to a period not later than 350 A.D.

Another inscription composed by वत्सभट्टि in Malva Samvat (Vikrama era) 529 which is equal to 473 A.D. contains 44 verses in the वैदर्भी style. It commemorates the dedication of a temple to the Sun God. This inscription is known as मन्दसार or मन्देश्वर inscription. Here the author has tried to imitate the style of Kalidasa.

Apart from the above two inscriptions we have two other literary inscriptions of considerable length in prose. One of them known as Girnar Prasasti written by Rudradaman was obtained from a place called Girnar. The other one written by पुलमायी was obtained from Nasik and is known as the Nasik inscription. Both these inscriptions belong to the second century (150 to 170 A.D.). Their style resembles the classical prose style of Bana and Dandin. These inscriptions point to the existence of classical prose style in the early period of the christian era. Thus we have ample evidences to prove that artificial court poetry which originated centuries before the commencement of the christian era was cultivated, without break, during the succeeding centuries though many of the works of the early period are lost. The loss of these

works may be due to the unsettled political situation in India during that period owing to foreign invasions and internal conflicts. That was the period which Max Muller considered is the dark period in Indian Literary activity when he put forward his Renaissance theory.

The first authentic information about the existence of excellent works of poetry, prose and drama is furnished by Bana in the introduction of his हर्षचरितम्. He refers to some famous authors and works such as कालिदासः, भासः, प्रवरसेनः, भट्टारहरिचन्द्रः, सातवाहनः; वासवदत्ता and बृहत्कथा. Since बाण was the court poet of हर्षवर्धनशिलादित्य his date can be definitely fixed as the early part of the seventh century A.D. Only from Bana, definite dates begin to appear in the history of Sanskrit Literature.

कालिदास is the author of two Mahakavyas—(1) रघुवंशः and (2) कुमारसंभवम् which are perhaps the earliest of the existing Mahakavyas. He is also the author of three dramas—मालविकाग्निमित्रं, विक्रमोर्वशीयम् and शाकुन्तलम् and the Lyric poem मेघदूतम्. Many scholars consider the Lyric ऋतुसंहारः also as the work of कालिदास. Dandin defines महाकाव्य thus:—

" सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम् ।
आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥
इतिहासकथोद्भूतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम् ।
चतुर्वर्गफलोपेतं चतुरोदात्तनायकम् ॥
नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्रार्कोदयवर्णनैः ।
उद्यानसलिलक्रीडामधुपानरतोत्सवैः ॥

विप्रलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनैः ।
मन्त्रद्यूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैरपि ।।

अलंकृतमसंक्षिप्तं रसभावनिरन्तरम् ।
सर्गैरनतिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यवृत्तैः सुसन्धिभिः ।।

सर्वत्र भिन्नवृत्तान्तैरुपेतं लोकरञ्जकम् ।
काव्यं कल्पान्तरस्थायि जायेत सदलङ्कृति ।।
न्यूनमप्यत्र यैः कैश्चिदङ्गैः काव्यं न दुष्यति ।। ”

रघुवंशम्—As the name suggests Raghuvamsa describes the lives of the kings of the solar dynasty beginning with दिलीप, the father of Raghu. It consists of 19 cantos. In the first nine cantos the stories of four ancestors of Rama——दिलीप, रघु, अज and दशरथ are described. In the next six cantos the story of Rama is narrated. Though Kalidasa follows Valmiki closely in the narration of Rama's story, his list of Rama's ancestors does not agree with the list given in the Ramayana. Kalidasa's list agrees more with the lists given in the वायु and विष्णु Puranas. Cantos 16 and 17 of Raghuvamsa describe the lives of three nearest descendants of Rama and in the 18th canto a running account of about 23 kings is given. The nineteenth canto describes the voluptious king अग्निवर्ण and ends abruptly with the death of the childless king and the coronation of one of his wives, who was pregnant, as the queen. Some scholars are of opinion that Kalidasa wrote a few more cantos which are now lost.

There is no single connected story in रघुवंशम्. Important and interesting episodes from the lives of kings are taken for detailed description which provide a good

variety and much scope for the display of the poet's genius. The second canto where Dilipa tends नन्दिनी, the cow of वसिष्ठ, the sixth canto wherein the Svayamvara of इन्दुमती is described; Aja's lamentation on the death of his beloved in the eighth and Rama's return journey from Lanka in the पुष्पकविमान in the 13th canto, are all good examples of Kalidasa's poetic genius and descriptive power and also his intimate knowledge of the various regions of India and their people. The work abounds in apt and beautiful similes and metaphors. The style is simple and graceful. The sentiment of धर्मवीर is predominent all through the work. शृङ्गार, करुण etc., are also developed in appropriate places. Epic poetry seems to have attained perfection in रघुवंशम् ।

कुमारसम्भवम्—At present this work consists of 17 cantos. It deals with the birth of the war-God, कुमार or सुब्रह्मण्य and the killing of तारकासुर, a powerful enemy of the gods. The great poet कालिदास is said to have written only up to the end of the 8th canto. The well-known commentators—अरुणगिरिनाथ and मल्लिनाथ have commented only on 8 cantos in which the marriage of Siva and Parvati and the circumstances that led to that marriage are described in detail. It is said that कलिदास was cursed by पार्वती for describing her love sports in the eighth canto and hence the work was left incomplete. It may be that कालिदास stopped writing beyond the eighth canto on account of the severe criticism levelled against him for describing the love sports of the divine couple which is revolting to Indian taste and sentiment. Later on, some poet completed the work by adding nine more cantos in which the birth of Kumara and his fight and Victory over the demon तारक are described. Kalidasa has ended

रघुवंश also abruptly with the crowing of the pregnant queen in the 19th. canto. Some say it was due to the death of the poet. That can be accepted if रघुवंश was the last work written by the poet, but to me it appears that शाकुन्तलं is his last work. The maturity of his thoughts and the dramatic skill found in this drama and his last wish expressed in its भरत:वाक्यं—"ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः"—confirm my view. The abrupt ending of रघुवंश may be due to the poet's disgust at the waning glory of the later kings of that illustrious line of इक्ष्वाकु.

It is difficult to say which of the above two works was composed first. According to tradition, the poet, on his return from the Kali temple was greeted by his royal spouse with the words "अस्ति कश्चिद्वागर्थः" and he wrote three poems—कुमारसंभवं, मेघदूतं and रघुवंशम् beginning with those three words respectively. If the order of the words is taken into consideration, रघुवंश must be the last poem composed by the poet. In the richness of poetic fancy and vivid descriptions, कुमारसंभव and मेघदूतम् are superior but रघुवंश is definitely superior in mature thoughts. The first few verses of रघुवंश suggest that कालिदास began with that work.

अश्वघोषः—According to the tradition of Buddhists, Asvaghosa was a contemporary of King Kanishka and hence he should have lived in the second half of the first century *A.D.* He was a brahmin by birth but was converted to Buddhism. He utilised the Sanskrit epic style for the propagation of his newly adopted religion. He is the author of two Mahakavyas—(1) Buddhacharitam and (2) Saundaranandam.

बुद्धचरितम्— Only thirteen cantos of this work have been properly preserved although, according to the chinese translation of the work it should have originally had 28 cantos. Discarding Pali, this was perhaps the first work written in Sanskrit by a Buddhist. This is considered to be an authentic work on Buddha's life. This was translated into Chinese as early as between 414 and 421 A.D. Asvaghosha's बुद्धचरितं and Kalidasa's रघुवंशं contain similar ideas and expressions which made some scholars believe that Kalidasa was later than अश्वघोष. In fact अश्वघोष was influencd not only by कालिदास but also by वाल्मीकि in the matter of ideas and expressions. His style is rough and less ornate compared to that of कालिदास. In बुद्धचरितं he has described the birth, early life, renunciation, fight with cupid and the teachings of Buddha.

सौन्दरानन्दम्— This is another Mahakavya of Asvaghosha in 18 cantos dealing with the life of Nanda, Buddha's half-brother. Nanda loved his wife Sundari so dearly that he did not like to become a monk, but बुद्ध through his disciple आनन्द, succeeded in converting नन्द. Nanda's love for Sundari and Sundari's grief when नन्द took up the life of a monk are beautifully described in this work.

सेतुबन्धम् of प्रवरसेन.—In the introduction of हर्षचरितं, बाण refers to प्रवरसेन thus:—

"कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्वला
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ।।"

From this reference it is possible to assign the author and work to the fifth century A.D. This is written in

प्राकृतं and deals with the story of Ramayana. सेतुबन्धं is also called रावणवधम् or सेतुकाव्यम्. It is said that this poem was written to commemorate the construction of a bridge of boats accross the river Vitasta by King प्रवरसेन. Dandin pays a high tribute to this work in his काव्यादर्श thus :—

" महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ।। "

बुद्धघोषः who lived somewhere about 400 A.D. is the author of पद्यचडामणि in 10 cantos which describes the life of बुद्ध. His account of Buddha's life differs in certain respects from the account of अश्वघोष .

Kumaradasa is the author of जानकीहरणम् in 20 cantos describing the story of the रामायणम्. If the author of जानकीहरणं is identified with king Kumaradasa of Ceylon, the work has to be assigned to the first half of the 6th century A.D. The style of the work is simple and beautiful and the author has successfully tried to imitate Kalidasa. His fondness for alliteration is seen in the abundant use of it in the 17th and 18th cantos. From the free use of certain grammatical forms it appears that he was acquainted with the grammar book काशिकावृत्ति of about 650 A.D. If this fact is established, he will have to be assigned to the 7th. century A.D. राजशेखर an author and critic of the 10th century A.D. praises this work thus :—

" जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥ "

भारविः—Bharavi's name is mentioned along with the name of Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription dated 634 A.D. Here the poet is spoken as a famous one and hence he must have lived some years before. Since his style is highly artificial, he cannot be taken back to the 4th or 5th century A.D. Bana has not mentioned भारवि while refering to many of his predecessors like कालिदास, प्रवरसेन, सुबन्धु and others. So भारवि must have preceded बाण only by a few years and therefore can be safely placed somewhere in the 6th century A.D.

Bharavi's poem किरातार्जुनीयं is a महाकाव्यं in 18 cantos. It describes the story of अर्जुन acquiring the पाशुपतास्त्रं from Siva who, in the disguise of a hunter (किरात) tested the strength and ability of Arjuna in an encounter. This incident is briefly narrated in the बनपर्व of Mahabharatam. Taking that simple incident from the महाभारत, Bharavi transformed it into a beautiful epic by graphic descriptions, elaborate discussion on state-craft and politics and a vigorous style quite appropriate for the heroic sentiment.

In poetic fancy and force of diction, Bharavi's genius is remarkable. The sentiment of वीर (heroism) is admirably developed and his descriptions of forests and mountains create brilliant images before our eyes. From भारवि the style of Sanskrit epic poetry became more elaborate and artificial. The natural and simple style of Kalidasa and other early poets gave way to verbal tricks and subtle expressions. The 15th canto of किरातार्जुनीयं contains a number of stanzas illustrating all kinds of puns and alliterations (श्लेष and यमक). In one verse, a line read from the other end forms the second line of the verse. In the artificiality of style and various kinds

of verbal excercises Bharavi became a model to माघ and others.

Bharavi is famous for expressing profound thoughts in crisp and vigorous style—"भारवेरर्थगौरवम्". The famous example of his अर्थगौरव is the verse :—

"सहसा विदधीत न क्रियामविवेकः परमापदां पदम् ।
वृणते हि विमृश्यकारिणं गुणलुब्धाः स्वयमेव सम्पदः ॥"

It was भारवि who introduced for the first time a detailed discussion of state-policy in a महाकाव्य which was later on followed by माघ.

भट्टिकाव्यं or रावणवधः—Bhatti is the author of a Mahakavya in 22 cantos called रावणवधः । This work dealing with the story of the Ramayana is popularly known as भट्टिकाव्यम् । The poet himself says that he wrote the work at Valabhi which was ruled by king श्रीधरसेन. There were four kings with the above name and the last one flourished about 640 A.D. From the nature of the style of the poem Bhatti can be placed in the middle of the 7th century A.D, during the reign of the last Sreedharasena. The main purpose of the author in writing this poem was to illustrate the rules of grammar and the figures of speech. This was probably done to teach grammar to the children of the king.

Bhatti Kavya became very popular on account of its simple style and its usefulness in teaching grammar and Alankara through poetry. The thirteenth canto of the poem is written in such a way that the verses can be read both as संस्कृतं and प्राकृतम्.

Some scholars consider the name भट्टि as the प्राकृत form of भर्तृहरि the great grammarian and philosopher. भर्तृहरि belonged to an earlier period and hence his identification with the author of भट्टिकाव्यं is not accepted by many.

माघः—शिशुपालवधम्— Magha son of दत्तक is the author of Sisupalavadha, a Mahakavya in 20 cantos which describes the killing of शिशुपाल, the king of चेदि by Lord Krishna. Magha refers to Harshavardhana's नागानन्दम् (7th century A.D.) and is quoted by आनन्दवर्धन of the 9th century A.D. Therefore Magha's date can be fixed in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. A simple incident from the महाभारत where कृष्ण kills शिशुपाल at Yudhishthira's Rajasuya sacrifice has been taken up by माघ and developed into a fitting plot of a great epic. Like Bharavi माघ also introduces a discussion on state-policy in the second canto. Dandin's definition of महाकाव्य strictly applies to this work.

He has introduced descriptions of mountains, battle scenes, drinking parties etc, which are considered as the essential features of a महाकाव्यम्. Some of these are just to confrom to the rules of poetics like the elaborate description of the रैवत mountain.

माघ excells भारवि in the artificiality of his style. He imitates भारवि in many respects. Both these poets begin their respective works with the word श्री. Bharavi uses the word लक्ष्मी in the last verse of each canto of his work while माघ uses the word श्री. It is said that the glory of Bharavi who first introduced artificiality in the epic style faded when the work of माघ emerged –

" तावद्भा भारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः ।
उदिते तु पुनर्माघे भारवेर्भा रवेरिव ।। "

Magha is admired for his delightful style, profound thoughts and beautiful similes:—

" उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
दण्डिनः पदलालित्यं माघेसन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ।। "

Magha's vocabulary is very vast and his knowledge of grammar is deep. He delights in the use of grammatical peculiarities and avoids the use of the same word a second time. It is said that if one studies nine cantos of Magha there will be no new word for him to study :—

" नवसर्गगते माघे नवशब्दो न विद्यते ।। "

The toughness of Magha's style can be inferred from a remark said to have been made by the great commentator मल्लिनाथ—" माघे मेघे गतं वयः "

गौडवहो of वाक्पतिराजः—This is a poem written in प्राकृत dilect in the 8th century A.D. It celebrates the victory of king यशोवर्मन् of Kanauj over a Gauda prince. The author was patronised by यशोवर्मन्. The ideas of the poet are mostly conventional and the literary merit of the poem is very little. It is partly historical in its content. The work is left incomplete probably owing to the death of King Yasovarman in 736 A.D., at the hands of Lalitaditya of Kashmir. The author admits his indebtedness to भवभूति and also refers to his earlier poem मधुमथनविजयं which is now lost.

धर्मशर्माभ्युदयं of हरिचन्द्र is a poem in 21 cantos describing the life of Dharmanatha, a Jain saint. This work is placed in the early part of the 9th century A.D.

हरविजयं of रत्नाकरः—राजानकरत्नाकरवागीश्वरः who flourished under Jayapida and Avantivarman of Kashmir and therefore whose date must be fixed about 850 A.D., is the author of a huge work called हरविजयं in 50 cantos. The poem describes the slaying of अन्धकासुर by Siva. By writing such a huge work with a simple and tiny plot the poet, according to A.B. Keith, has shown his lack of taste. The descriptions of love sports, gathering of armies and discussions of politics are all disproportionately long and the style is harsh and over-worked.

कप्फणाभ्युदयं of शिवस्वामी is a work in 20 cantos composed in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. Sivaswami was a Buddhist and was patronised by king Avantivarman of Kashmir. The poem deals with the conversion of a south Indian king named कप्फण into Buddhism. It describes how कप्फण made attempts to attack प्रसेनजित्, a Buddhist king of Sravasti and how his expedition resulted in his own conversion into Buddhism. The theme is taken from the अवदानशतकम्.

नलोदयं of वासुदेव is a poem in 4 cantos describing the return of Nala back to his kingdom and regaining his lost kingship. The author वासुदेव lived somewhere in the 9th century A.D. He refers to king कुलशेखर and is believed to be a native of Kerala. Some scholars identify वासुदेवकविः the author of a यमककाव्यम् called युधिष्ठिरविजयं with the author of नलोदयं and place him somewhere in

the 12th or 15th century A.D. नलोदयं was at first wrongly attributed to कालिदास.

पद्मगुप्त also called परिमल is the author of a poem in 18 cantos called नवसाहसाङ्कचरितम्. The poet was patronised by Sindhuraja of Dhara and hence he has to be assigned to the early part of the 11th century A.D. The poem was written at the request of Sindhuraja who possessed the title नवसाहसाङ्क. Some episodes in his life are described here which have little historical value.

बिल्हणः—विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरितम्. Bilhana is a poet of considerable merit who belonged to the latter part of the 11th century A.D. He wrote a Mahakavya in 18 cantos called विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरितम्. Since this work has some historical value we have dealt with this in detail under the Historical Kavyas.

क्षेमेन्द्रः—Kshemendra, a Kashmirian poet of the early 11th century A.D., has condensed the three great epics—the Ramayana, Mahabharata and Brihatkatha into three poetical works—(1) रामायणमञ्जरी. (2) भारतमञ्जरी and (3) बृहत्कथामञ्जरी. These are long poems written in a a simple style and do not possess much artistic beauty, but they reveal the skill of the poet in condensing the great epics and his mastery over the contents of Itihasas and Puranas which earned him the title of व्यासदासः. He was a pupil of अभिनवगुप्त of 1100 A.D. He has also written another poem called दशावतारचरितम्. Apart from these poems, क्षेमेन्द्र is the author of many small works on various topics including अलङ्कारशास्त्र which are dealt with under the respective heads.

कृष्णलीलाशुक or बिल्वमङ्गल is the author of the काव्यं गोविन्दपट्टाभिषेकम् in twelve cantos describing the glory of the poet's favourite deity, Lord Srikrishna. This work also illustrates the rules of प्राकृत grammar. The poet belonged to Kerala and tradition places him in the eleventh century A.D. He is the author of many works on various subjects among which a devotional lyric poem entitled श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतम् is famous and very popular.

वाग्भट of about 1150 A.D., is the author of a poem called नेमिनिर्वाणं dealing with the story of नेमिनाथ, a jain saint. He has also written an अलङ्कार work known after his name as वाग्भटालङ्कार which is a good work on poetics.

कल्हण and हेमचन्द्र of the 12th, century A.D., are the authors of राजतरङ्गिणी and कुमारपालचरितं respectively. These two poetical works contain a lot of history and hence will be dealt with later under Historical Kavyas.

श्रीकण्ठचरितं of मङ्खकः—This work in 25 cantos describes the destruction of त्रिपुर by शिव. The date of the author is somewhere about the middle of the 12th century A.D. The poem reveals the skill of the author in the use of verbal tricks. The last canto of this work gives an account of the Durbar held by King Jayasimha of Kashmir 1129 to 1150 A.D., which has some historical value. मङ्खकः was a disciple of रुय्यक, the author of अलङ्कारसर्वस्वम.

कविराजः—राघवपाण्डवीयम्-Raghavapandaviyam of Kaviraja is an interesting work which narrates the stories of Rama and the Pandavas simultaneously. This double

purpose is achieved by the use of words having two meanings and splitting the compounds in two different ways. It is said that artificiality in Sanskrit epic style reached its climax in this work.

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the date of कविराजः. Prof. A. A. Macdonell assigns him to the 9th century A.D., while A. B. Keith places him in the 12th century A. D. Kaviraja's skill has been praised by some critics thus :—

"श्रीमद्रामायणं गङ्गा भारतंसागरो महान् ।
तत्संयोजनकार्यज्ञौ कविराजभगीरथौ ॥"

[धनञ्जयः a jain poet of doubtful date is the author of another poem of the same name—राघवपाण्डवीयम्. The probable date of this author is 12th century A.D. This work is also called द्विसाधनकाव्यम्.

चिदम्बरकविः of unknown date is the author of राघवपाण्डवयादवीयम् in which he has succeeded in narrating the stories of रामायणं, महाभारतं and श्रीमद्भागवतं at one stroke. Some ascribe this work to the 17 century A.D.

हरदत्तसूरिः of unknown date has performed the feat of combining the stories of Rama and Nala in his राघवनैषधीयम् । This poet is also assigned by some to the latter part of the 17th century.

रामचन्द्रः of the 16th century A.D., is the author of रसिकरञ्जनम् an interesting poem which gives an erotic sense when read in one way and extol asceticism when read in another way.

श्रीहर्षः—नषधीयचरितम्—श्रीहर्षः, son of हीर and मामल्लदेवी is the author of the great महाकाव्यं called नैषधीयचरितम्. From among the large number of Mahakavyas starting from the 1st century B.C., and ending with the 12th century A.D., the Indian critics have selected five works and have recognised them as five Mahakavyas of special merit, (पञ्चमहाकाव्यानि) of which नैषधीयचरितं is the last. The other four are the two Mahakavyas of Kalidasa Kiratarjuniyam of Bharavi and Sisupalavadham of Magha. Some include भट्टिकाव्यं as the sixth Mahakavya. The great commentator Mallinatha has commented on all these " Great Epic Poems ".

Harsha was patronised by the kings Vijayachandra and Jayachandra of Kanauj in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. He practised चिन्तामणिमन्त्रं and attained proficiency in various branches of learning. He is the author of many works but among his poems only the Naishadhiyacharitam which is also called नैषधम् is now available. It is said that this work was written in 60 cantos but only 22 cantos are now available and the work is incomplete. At present the work ends with the wedding and conjugal life of Nala and Damayanti. The story of नैषधं is taken from the नलोपाख्यानं of Mahabharata. In the original the story is narrated in a simple and beautiful style. Harsha has developed it into a great epic written in a tough style requiring the help of the commentary to understand the meaning. Hence Harsha's style is called नारिकेलपाकम्. Being a scholar in various Sastras, Harsha has embellished his work by drawing similes and topics from the Sastras and including in his work whole topics from grammar and philosophy. Hence this work is called a शास्त्रकाव्यम् and is said to be a

विद्वदौषधम्. The author delights in the employment of अतिशयोक्ति and उत्प्रेक्षा. Harsha himself says that his work is not for the fools to play with— " मास्मिन् खल: खेलतु ".

श्रीहर्ष is also the author of a Vedanta work in verse called खण्डनखण्डखाद्यं and two Prasastis—विजयप्रशस्ति: and गौडोर्वीशप्रशस्ति: । He is also known to have written a poem called अर्णववर्णनं which is now lost. The poet himself gives information about his works and parents at the end of each Sarga of नैषधम्

यादवाभ्युदयम् of वेङ्कटनाथः or वेदान्तदेशिक: – Vedanta Desika was a great Vaishnavite saint of the latter part of the 13th century A.D. He is the author of about 120 works on various subjects. His यादवाभ्युदयं is a beautiful epic poem in 24 cantos describing the story of Lord Krishna. This work is modelled after Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa. Appayya Dikshita has written a commentary on this poem. Venkatanatha has also written a beautiful lyric entitled हंससन्देश on the model of Kalidasa's Meghadutam and many devotional poem among which पादुकासहस्रम् deserves special mention.

कृष्णानन्द of Puri is the author of a poem named सहृदयानन्दं which describes the story of नल in 15 cantos. The style of the poet is simple and graceful. विश्वनाथ the author of साहित्यदर्पण refers to कृष्णानन्द and hence hemust be placed in the 13th, century A.D.

मधुराविजयं of गङ्गादेवी, a poetess of the 14th century A.D., is a beautiful poem which describes the exploits of the Vijayanagar king, Kampana. Since the subject is historical we have dealt with it under historical kavyas.

श्रीकृष्णविलासम् of सुकुमारकवि is a beautiful Kavya in 12 cantos. In a simple and delightful style it describes the story of Lord Krishna strictly following the दशमस्कन्ध of Srimad Bhagavatam. Only six cantos of the work have been published but the whole work is available in manuscript. This work is very popular in Kerala. The author Sukumarakavi also belonged to Kerala and flourished in the 15th century A.D.

युधिष्ठिरविजयम् of वासुदेवकवि is a reputed यमककाव्यम् in 21 cantos. The author who belonged to Kerala flourished in the 15th century A.D. This Vasudeva Kavi seems to be different from the author of नलोदयम्.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षितः of the 17th century A.D., is the author of two Mahakavyas—शिवलीलार्णवम् and गङ्गावतरणम्. The first work consists of 22 cantos and describes the incarnation of Siva while the second book consists of 8 cantos. नीलकण्ठदीक्षित who was related to अप्पय्यदीक्षित and was also his disciple has written many minor poems which are noted for their simple style and lofty ideas. He is also the author of नीलकण्ठविजयचम्पूः ।

राजचूडामणिदीक्षितः of the 17th century A.D., is the author of रुक्मिणीकल्याणम्, a beautiful poem in 10 cantos describing the marriage of Rukmini with Krishna.

चक्रकविः of the 17th century A.D., is the author of जानकीपरिणयं in eight cantos. The author was patronised by Tirumala Nayak of Madura.

There are a few more poems which deserve mention such as—the रघुनाथाभ्युदयं of रामभद्राम्बा of the 17th century

A.D., and आङ्ग्लसाम्राज्यं of A. R. Raja Raja Varma of the 20th century. Since they contain some historical information, they will be dealt with under Historical Kavyas.

रामभद्रदीक्षितः of the early 18th century is the author of पतञ्जलिचरितं, a poem in 8 cantos describing the life of पतञ्जलि, the great grammarian. He was patronised by King Shahaji of Tanjore.

The whole of the Kavya period is generally divided into three sections—The pre-Kalidasan period, the Kalidasan and the Post Kalidasan period. Ramayana is the only poetical work belonging to the pre-Kalidasan period now preserved. To the Kalidasan period can be assigned the works of his immediate successors also such as अश्वघोष, प्रवरसेन, बुद्धघोष and कुमारदास and also the inscriptions of रुद्रदामन्, पुलमायी, हारषेण and वत्सभट्टि. The post-Kalidasan period may be said to start from Bharavi when the epic style became more elaborate and artificial and the poems were influenced by the कामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन and the rules laid down by the Alankarikas. If Kalidasa is assigned to the 4th century A.D., as A. B. Keith and others do, the two early inscriptions and the works of अश्वघोष should be taken back to the pre-Kalidasan period. From the 13th, century A.D., the decline of Sanskrit epic poetry began. After श्रीहर्ष very few have succeded in writing Mahakavyas of considerable originality and merit.

Historical Kavyas

History as a separate subject has not been treated in Sanskrit Literature. Indians as a class did not possess the historical sense as it is understood by the Westerners.

They have described the great exploits of their national heroes like Rama, Krishna, Arjuna etc., but they have not recorded faithfully the various events in their lives. Yet there are some writers in Sanskrit who have recorded some historical events in their works, but they have done it in their own way. Their main purpose was to write Mahakavyas according to the rules and praise their patrons while historical facts were treated only as of secondary importance. Therefore the Kavyas (in the form of poetry, prose, or drama) which record historical events can be said to be one of the sources of ancient Indian history. Many of these works do not give a correct chronology and very often they give exaggerated accounts of events. That was due to the fact that most of the poets were patronised by kings and they wanted to please their patrons. The lack of historical sense in Indians is also attributed to their philosophy of life which has made them look upon worldly life as insignificant. The Indian Mind believed in the doctrine of Karma and rebirth, the workings of fate, the intervention of superhuman elements in the daily life of man and the impermenance of the world. So they attached very little significance to the deeds and achievements of man. Moreover they considered the ancient heroes of the epics like Rama, Arjuna, Karna, Bhima and others as great men and historical rulers of the day and preferred to write and preserve works about them rather than recording and preserving the lives of contemporary rulers who are much inferior to the epic heroes.

In spite of the lack of historical sense in the Indians in general, we find many historical events recorded in the epics like Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Puranas ;

in the inscrip ons of रुद्रदामा and many others, and also in the various forms of literature like poetry, prose and drama.

बुद्धचरितं and सौन्दरानन्दं of अश्वघोष of the first century A.D., are perhaps the earliest Kavyas giving some correct historical information about बुद्ध, his teachings, his followers and the conversions to Buddhism.

Girnar Prasasti of Rudradaman which celebrates the restoration of the Sudarsana lake refers to an event of historical interest in A.D., 150, and dates from not much later. The काव्य inscriptions like समुद्रगुप्तप्रशस्ति of हरिषेण of about 350 A.D., and the inscription of वत्सभट्टि written in 473 A.D., commemorating the dedication of a temple to Sun God and also many other inscriptions belonging to the Gupta period (200 to 450 A.D.,) contain a lot of historical information.

सेतुबन्ध of प्रवरसेन of the 5th century A.D., can be considered as an early historical Kavya. It was composed to celebrate the construction of a bridge of boats across the river Vitasta by a Kashmirian king. Bana and Dandin pay high tributes to this poem written in Maharashtri Prakrit.

कौमुदीमहोत्सवम्, a play in five acts describes how king कल्याणवर्मा, regained his lost kingdom of Magadha about 340 A.D. The work throws light on the political intrigues in the Gupta period. The author of the play is not known.

मत्तविलासप्रहसनं of महेन्द्रवर्मा of काञ्ची of about 610 A.D., vividly brings out the degeneration that has set

in the practices of the followers of the various religious sects. The farce describes the city life of Kanchi

बाण: —हर्षचरितम्

Bana's Harshacharitam, a classical prose romance of the 7th century A.D., is a real historical Kavya of considerable importance. In this work a detailed account of Bana's family and some incidents in his own life are given in the first two chapters. Then follows the story of king हर्षवर्धन, the patron of the poet. After giving a brief account of Harsha's ancestors, the story comes to प्रभाकरवर्मा, father of हर्षवर्धन. After the death of his father, हर्ष is persuaded to be his successor by his elder brother राज्यवर्धन who then marches against the Malva king who had taken their sister राज्यश्री a captive after killing her husband ग्रहवर्मा. The victorious राज्यर्धन is treacherously murdered by the Gauda prince while राज्यश्री escapes from the prison and wanders in the Vindhya forest. Harshavardhana prepares for a war against the Gaudas and in the meanwhile recovers राज्यश्री with the help of a Buddhist Monk. The work is left incomplete. The aim of the author was to embellish his work with a romantic style and not to record historical facts. Bana does not say why the husband of Rajyasri was slain. The motive of the treacherous Gauda prince is also not revealed.

In his preface to हर्षचरितं Bana refers to some of his famous predecessors like कालिदास, भास, प्रवरसेन etc. This reference is of great historical value in so far as it helps in fixing the upper limit of the dates of these authors. Bana however does not mention any one of the poets who were in the court of हर्षवर्धन.

वाक्पतिराजः—गौढवहो—Gaudavaho of Vakpatiraja of of the 8th century A.D., is a historical Kavya in parts. It describes the defeat of a Gauda prince from the hands of the poet's patron, king Yasovarman of Kanauj. The poet leaves the work incomplete probably because of the defeat and death of his patron Yasovarman in 736 A.D., at the hands of Lalitaditya of Kashmir. The book is written in प्राकृतं. गौडवहो is the प्राकृतं of गौडवधः ।

पद्मगुप्तः—नवसाहसाङ्कचरितम. Navasahasankacharitam of Padma Gupta also known as परिमल of the 11th century A.D., is another historical Kavya giving some information about the life of the poet's patron, king सिन्धुराज of धारा who possessed the title नवसाहसाङ्क. The historical value of this work is not very high.

बिल्हणः—Vikramankadevacharitam of Bilhana of the 11th century A.D., is an interesting historical Kavya. बिल्हण was born and educated in Kashmir but he came to the south and became a court poet of चालुक्यविक्रमादित्य of Kalyan. He has described the life of his patron in this work in 17 cantos. His account of king विक्रमाङ्कदेव and his predecessors is not correct and complete. In the last canto the poet gives an account of himself and his family. There is more good poetry than history in this work. Bilhana's style is graceful and his descriptions are graphic. He is also the author of a beautiful lyric poem called चौरपञ्चाशिका and a drama entitled कर्णसुन्दरी.

कल्हणः— राजतरङ्गिणी—Kalhana's Rajatarangini is perhaps the greatest real historical Kavya in Sanskrit. कल्हण was a native of Kashmir who flourished in the 12th century A.D. Like a true historian he has given a

dispassionate and complete account of Kashmirian kings from the very early period. He had to rely on local traditions and नीलमतपुराण for the history of the early period and therefore much value cannot be attached to the dates given by him. But he gives a correct chronology of the Kashmirian kings and faithfully records the historical facts. In Kalhana we find a great poet and a true historian. 'कल्हण gazes over the history of his country, he sees all that is sad and dreary in it, and he encourages in himself and in his readers the sentiment that recognises, and by recognition rises superior to the vanity of human aims'. 'He seeks therefore every artistic mode to set things vividly before us.'

कल्हण was the son of a Brahmin statesman by name Champaka who was the minister of King Harsha of Kashmir. When Harsha was assasinated, Jayasimha became the king of Kashmir and Kalhana lived during his rule which extended from 1127 to 1159 A.D. The work ends with the account of the reign of Jayasimha. Later on जनराज of the 15th, century A.D., and his pupil Sivarama continued the work of Kalhana's poem upto their own age.

कल्हण was a moralist. He wanted to present historical facts in such a way that they would educate the readers. He has faithfully recorded the drawbacks of the kings and ministers. During his period he found the country not well governed. The soldiers were greedy, the priests were intriguing and the people were pleasure-loving. Treachery, murder and family quarrels were quite common among the aristocrats. कल्हण has taken an unbiassed attitude towards the happenings in the royal

household like a judge and hence his work is of very high historical value.

हेमचन्द्र—कुमारपालचरितम्—Hemachandra was a jain poet of the 1088 to 1172 A.D., who was patronised by king Kumarapala of Gujarat. His poem which contains 20 cantos in Sanskrit and 8 cantos in Prakrit is called द्व्याश्रयकाव्यं and also कुमारपालचरितम. This work gives an account of the poet's patron कुमारपाल and his ancestors. The facts mentioned by the poet are not always reliable. The poet was too much of a partisan to be an impartial or reliable historian.

जल्हण of about 1150 A.D., is the author of सोमपालविलास based on the history of सोमपाल, a king of राजपुरी in the neighbourhood of Kashmir.

पृथ्वीराजविजयं is a historical poem in eight cantos describing the victory of पृथ्वीराज of Ajmer over Sultan Shahabuddin of Ghori in 1191 A.D. The authorship of the poem is attributed to one चन्द्रकवि ।

मधुराविजयं of गङ्गादेवी—This work gives a reliable account of Vijayanagar history. गङ्गादेवी was the wife of the Vijayanagar king कम्पन of the 14th century A.D. She describes in her poem मुधराविजयं the expedition of her husband to the south. कम्पन in the course of his conquests defeated the ruler of Madhura and hence the title Madhuravijayam. Like Bana, Ganga Devi also refers to some of her predecessors in this work. The poem is now available only in fragments.

वामनभट्टबाणः - वेमभूपालचरितम्— Vamanabhatta Bana of the 15th century A.D., is the author of a good prose work called वेमभूपालचरितं which gives a detailed account of the life and exploits of the poet's patron वेमभूपाल, a Reddy king of a part of आन्ध्रदेश. This work has some historical value. वेमभूपाल also called वीरनारायण, the son of पेद्दकोमटीन्द्र was the king of Addanki during 1403 to 1420 A.D. His victories and achievements in the battles during his tour of conquest are glorified in this work. The author says that he has written this prose work to prove that there are poets who are equal to Bana in writing good prose.

प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणम् of विद्यानाथ is an Alankara work of the 14th century A.D., which also contains a drama called प्रतापरुद्रकल्याणं for illustrating the rules of dramaturgy. All the illustrations in this work are composed by the author himself extoling the merits and exploits of वीररुद्र or प्रतापरुद्र of the Kakatiya dynasty who was his patron, who ruled at Warrangal between 1268 to 1325 A.D. This work contains some historical information about वीररुद्र and the Kakatiya dynasty.

अच्युतरायाभ्युदयं of राजनाथ of the 16th, century A.D., is a historical काव्य describing the life of अच्युतराय (1530-1542 A.D.,) brother of कृष्णदेवराय of Vijayanagaram. The successful expedition of अच्युतराय to the South to help the Pandyan king against the Chera king, his pilgrimage to holy places in the South and his seige of Bijapur fort and victory over the sultan of Bijapur are described in this work.

रघुनाथाभ्युदयम् of रामभद्राम्बा—रामभद्राम्बा the queen of the Naik king रघुनाथ of Tanjore who ruled in early 17th

century A.D., has written a poem in 12 cantos entitled रघुनाथाभ्युदयम् giving the history of her own husband.

रघुनाथविजयं of यज्ञनारायण of 17th century A.D., is another work describing the life of king रघुनाथ of Tanjore who was the poet's patron.

आंग्लसाम्राज्यं of A. R. Raja Raja Varma of Travancore of the 20th century A.D., is perhaps the latest historical Kavya giving a brief account of the British rule in India. This work is modelled after the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa.

खण्डकाव्यानि Lyric and Gnomic poems

I. Lyrics :—

Sanskrit Literature is very rich in lyric poetry. Lyric is the expression of a feeling, thought or sentiment in a vivid manner. It is an outpouring of the human heart filled with emotion. Most of the lyrical poems in Sanskrit Literature are not connected poems of considerable length, but consist of detached verses of miniature painting which depicts an amatory situation or sentiment in a single stanza of four lines. Many of them bear evidence of great wealth of observation and depth of feeling and are often drawn by a master hand. They are gems of beauty both in form and content.

In Sanskrit, lyrical poems are called खण्डकाव्यानि। In them plant and animal world play an important part and they are treated with great charm. Among the flowers the lotus is the most prominent and the birds चक्रवाक, कोकिल, चातक and चकोर are frequently introduced.

The lyric poets blend nature and man into one inseperable whole by an artistic use of pathetic fallacy.

Lyric poems in Sanskrit can be broadly classified into two classes—(1) The erotic lyrics and (2) Devotional Lyrics. The Sandesakavyas mostly come under the erotic type and the stotras belong to the devotional type.

The earliest lyric stanzas are found in the ऋग्वेद where the उषस् देवता is described as a dancing girl dressed in beautiful garments and wearing gold ornaments. There are also beautiful poems describing nature's beauty in the Rig Veda, Ramayana and the Mahabharata which are specimens of excellent lyric poetry. The first canto of किष्किन्धाकाण्ड in Ramayana where the lake पम्पा and Rama's feelings in separation are beautifully described by वाल्मीकि can be treated as a fine lyric. The Puranas also contain beautiful lyric poems. The गोपिकागीतं and रुक्मिणीसन्देश: in श्रीमद्भागवतं can be cited as examples. The Mahakavyas also contain fine lyric pieces within them.

It was कालिदास who perhaps first wrote a separate work of considerable length of a purely lyric style. It is the मेघदूतं or मेघसन्देश: consisting of about 115 verses in the मन्दाक्रान्ता metre. The theme of the poem is a message sent through a cloud by a separated lover यक्ष to his sweet-heart who was far away in Alaka. A cloud cannot carry a message and it is not expected to do so. The poet here describes only the feelings of a separated lover. The work is divided into two parts. In the first part called पूर्वमेघ: the various places that are to be visited by the cloud on its way from रामगिरि to अलका are described with much beauty and power. In the second

part called उत्तरमेघ: we have the descriptions of the city of Alaka, the beauty of Yaksha's wife, her diversions in separation and lastly the message of Yaksha. The first part is a description of eternal nature while the second part mainly describes human feelings. This work is unsurpassed in the description of nature's beauty and tender feelings. The मन्दाक्रान्ता metre of seventeen syllables in a line with its long-winded and leisurely movement is admirably suited for describing the ravings and emotions of a separated lover. Most of the imitators of Kalidasa have used the very same metre.

[Many later poets who were inspired by the above work of Kalidasa have written Sandesa Kavyas imitating Kalidasa in their content, style and even metre. The following are a few well-known imitations of Meghasandesam.

पवनदूतं of धोयी is a Sandesakavya in which a Gandharva maiden sends a love message through the wind to king लक्ष्मणसेन the poet's patron. धोयी was one of the court poets of king लक्ष्मणसेन of Bengal in the 12th century A.D. Jayadeva refers to him in गीतगोविन्द as one of his contemporaries.

हंससन्देश: of वेदान्तदेशिक of the latter part of the 13th century A.D., is another beautiful and well known सन्देशकाव्य in which Sri Rama sends a love message to his beloved Sita at लङ्का through a swan. In this the author describes some sacred places in Tamilnad which the swan should visit on its way to Lanka. This work is an admirable imitation of Kalidasa's poem.

कोकिलसन्देश: of उद्दण्डकवि is another good सन्देशकाव्यम्. उद्धण्ड a Brahmin of Tamilnad became an honoured poet in the court of the Zamorin of Calicut from where he composed Kokilasandesa in the early 15th century A.D.

हंससन्देशः of वामन भट्टबाण of the 15th century A.D., another work of the same name by रूपगोस्वामी of the 16th century A.D., भृङ्गसन्देश of वासुदेव of the 17th century A.D., and the शुकसन्देशः of a Kerala poet are some of the well-known Sandesakavyas of later authors.]

घटकर्परकाव्यम of घटकर्पर: Apart from the mention of घटकर्पर as one of the nine gems in the court of विक्रमादित्य nothing is known about his date or personal history. His small poem in 22 verses known as घटकर्परकाव्यं describes a love message sent by a young wife to her lover through a cloud. The lyric is full of alliteration of the यमक type and the poet takes pride in it.

ऋतुसंहार: The cycle of seasons is a lyric poem consisting of 144 verses describing the six seasons. This work is attributed to Kalidasa by most of the Western and a few Indian scholars. It is divided into six sections, each describing one of the six seasons of the Indian calendar. More than the expression of emotion, the descriptive aspect is prominent in this work. In the depth of the poetic insight and feeling, this work falls short of Kalidasa's other works. The great commentators like मल्लिनाथ, वल्लभ, दक्षिणावर्तनाथ and अरुणगिरिनाथ have not commented on it and no Alankara work has quoted verses from it. Hence Indian scholars do not accept this as a genuine work of कालिदास. A.B. Keith says that वत्सभट्टि has used this poem in his inscription and hence

it is of very ancient date. He also advances many arguments to support the view that the work was written by कालिदास.

शृङ्गारतिलकं, पुष्पबाणविलास: and राक्षसकाव्यम् are three small lyric poems which are attributed to Kalidasa but the author of the two Mahakavyas and the Meghasandesa could not have written these works. A few later poets assumed the title कालिदास and these works have to be attributed to one of them.

गाथासप्तशती of हाल: or सातवाहन:—This work also known as सातवाहनसप्तशती is a collection of seven hundred beautiful verses of the lyric type attributed to the authorship of हाल or सातवाहन । बाण praises Satavahana in the introduction of his हर्षचरितं thus :—

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहन: ।
विशुद्धजातिभि: कोशं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितै: ॥

The verses in this work were evidently composed by several authors which were collected and arra..d by सातवाहन. All the 700 verses are in महाराष्ट्री Prakrit and most of them effectively express the sentiment of love. From the style, language and the sentiments expressed it seems the authors of these verses were even earlier than Kalidasa. Satavahana or Hala who collected and arranged the verses must be placed in a period not later than the 2nd century A.D.

आर्यासप्तशती of गोवर्धनाचार्य:—An imitation of Satavahana's Gathasaptasati in Sanskrit is found in the

आर्यासप्तशती of गोवर्धनाचार्य who was one of the poets in the court of लक्ष्मणसेन of Bengal in the 12th century A.D. and a contemporary of Jayadeva.

भर्तृहरिः—One of the most eminent authors of Sanskrit lyrical poems is भर्तृहरि, the great grammarian, philosopher and poet in one, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The Chinese travaller I' Tsing has recorded that भर्तृहरि died in 651 A.D. Apart from his great grammar work वाक्यपदीयम्, भर्तृहरि is the author of three Satakas (Centuries)—नीतिशतकम्, शृङ्गारशतकम्, and वैराग्यशतकम्। While the first and last are didactic in nature, शृङ्गारशतकम्—is purely an erotic lyric consisting of one hundred detached verses describing various scenes of love. The poet shows himself well acquainted with both the charms of women and the arts by which they captivate the hearts of men. 'Who, he asks in one of his miniature poems, is not filled with yearning thoughts of love in spring when the air swoons with the scent of mango blossom and is filled with the hum of bees intoxicated with honey'. Though the poem is highly sensuous in nature, there is absolutely no vulgarity in it. Towards the end of this शतकम्, the poet's heart begins to turn from the allurements of love and prepares the way for his वैराग्यशतकम्।

अमरुकशतकम्—अमरुक or अमरु is the author of a lyric poem containing 100 beautiful verses describing the various phases of love. The work is known as अमरुकशतकम्. Each stanza in this work is a gem of beauty of the highest order. आनन्दवर्धनाचार्य of the 9th century A.D., quotes many verses from this work and hence अमरुक is placed somewhere in the 8th century A.D. Some people say that these beautiful verses were composed by king अमरुक when

the spirit of शङ्कराचार्य entered his body by the device of परकायप्रवेश (transmigration of the soul). 'In Sanskrit the highest distinction as the poet who can depict the various phases of love must be awarded to अमरुक'.

चौरपञ्चाशिका of बिल्हण of the 11th century A.D., is an interesting erotic lyric poem of about 50 verses describing the love sports enjoyed by the poet in the company of a beautiful princess with whom he had secret intimacy. It is said that these verses were composed and recited by the author when he was condemned to death by the king who came to know of his secret intimacy with the princess. The charming verses are in the form of recollections of the pleasures he had enjoyed in the company of his beloved. The king was moved by the genuine pathos expressed in the lyric and ordered the release of the poet. As already seen, बिल्हण is the author of the poem विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरितम् ।

गीतगोविन्दं or अष्टपदी of जयदेव:—Jayadeva who was one of the prominent poets in the court of लक्ष्मणसेन of Bengal in the 12th century A.D., is the author of one of the most beautiful and famous lyrics in 12 cantos known as गीतगोविन्दं or अष्टपदी. The stanzas in this work are grouped into sets of eight verses (songs) and hence it is called अष्टपदी. The work describes the love of Radha and Krishna in a style that is most appropriate to the sentiment. The followers of Bhakti cult treat this work as a devotional poem and it is being sung even to-day in many temples. This work represents a stage of transition of lyric poetry into a dance drama. The songs in the work are put in the mouths of three persons कृष्ण, राधा and a सखी who are introduced by verses setting

out the situation. The work consists of 24 songs in 12 cantos. जयदेव is a master of excellant form and diction and blending the sound to appropriate emotion. The lyric is a perfect work of art and it owes his result, according to A. B. Keith, largely to the remarkable beauty of the Sanskrit Language. "जयदेव praises himself for his elegance of composition, and for the sentiment expressed by, as well as the beauty and music of his diction, and for once the praise he arrogates is fully due."

भामिनीविलासं of जगन्नाथपण्डित of the 17th century A.D., is a beautiful erotic lyric in which the poet describes his own love affairs with his Muslim sweetheart. Jagannatha Pandita's style and imagary are striking. He was patronised by the Mugal emperor Shah Jahan. He is also the author of some devotional lyrics like गङ्गालहरी, करुणालहरी etc., and a great Alankara work called रसगङ्गाधरः

Devotional Lyrics स्तोत्रग्रन्थाः

The number of devotional lyrics in Sanskrit is so large that it is very difficult even to mention the names of the important ones. Many of them have been published in collections like बृहत्स्तोत्ररत्नाकरम् and such other works. A brief account of a few popular devotional lyrics of outstanding merit are given below :—

श्यामलादण्डकं is a beautiful lyric in praise of goddess Kali (मातङ्गी) attributed to कालिदास. It is said that Kalidasa composed and recited it in the temple of Kali from where he is supposed to have received the poetic inspiration. The work is composed in a rhythmic type of

prose known as दण्डकम् and its verbal rythm is charmingly melodious to recite.

मयूर, the father-in-law of बाण of the 7th century A.D., is the author of a lyric poem in hundred verses called सूर्यशतकम्. It is said that he was born blind but got his eyesight after composing this poem in praise of the Sun God. Worship of the Sun and सूर्यनमस्कार are done even to-day to get relief from eye decease and heart decease. A Vedic Mantra Prays to the Sun—" हृद्रोगं मम सूर्य। हरिमाणं च नाशय " etc. The work written in the style of the गौड school extoles सूर्य as the supreme God. It also describes the horses, the charioteer, the rays and the disc of the Sun.

शङ्कराचार्य of the 8th century A.D., is the author of many religious lyrics in addition to his monumental Bhashyas on the Brahmasutras, the ten Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. Among his lyrics the सौन्दर्यलहरी, शिवानन्दलहरी and कनकधारास्तवम् deserve special mention for their beautiful style and content. The first two are poems of one hundred stanzas each composed in a graceful style. The former describes पार्वती as the most beautiful and powerful Godess showing great compassion to the devotees like a mother ; while the latter praises Siva as the giver of all bliss. The कनकधारास्तव was composed and recited by शङ्कर in ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम invoking the compassion and grace of Godess Lakshmi to remove the poverty of a poor woman who offered him one Amla fruit (आमलकम्) as भिक्षा in the absence of any other food material in her house.

मूककवि: who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the author of 500 highly devotional poems of

eonsiderable literary merit known as मूकपञ्चशती. The whole work is in praise of कामाक्षी, the presiding deity of one of the prominent temples in Kanchi. It is said that मूक who was dumb by birth got the power to speak by the favour of Kamakshi whom he daily worshipped. He utilised that power only for reciting these verses in praise of that goddess.

कुलशेखरवर्मा, a king of Kerala who has been identified as the Vaishnavite कुलशेखर Alwar is the author of मुकुन्दमाला a fragarant garland of lyric verses offered by the poet to his favourite deity विष्णु with sincere devotion. The date of the author is given as 700 A.D.

श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतं of लीलाशुकः or बिल्वमङ्गलः is a very popular devotional lyric written in praise of Lord कृष्ण. The work of about 300 verses written in a simple and graceful style is divided into three divisions called Asvasas. It describes the loveliness of कृष्ण as a cow boy, his exploits in boyhood and his mystic love for Gopis. Tradition in Kerala, the poet's native place, places the poet in the 11th, century A.D. He was a Saivite by birth but became a devotee of Lord Krishna being attracted by his charm.

वेदान्तदेशिक of the 13th. century A.D., is the author of a large number of excellant lyrical poems among which दयाशतकम्, a century of compassion invoking the divine mercy of the lord of Tirupati hills and पादुकासहस्रम् in praise of Rama's sandals worshipped by भरत, deserve special mention for their form and content. It is said that पादुकासहस्रम् was composed in one night to meet the challenge of a rival.

अप्पय्यदीक्षित of the 16th, century A.D., a poet, philosopher, Alankarika and commentator in one, is the author of many lyric hymns. His वरदराजस्तवः in praise of God वरदराज of Kanchi in one hundred verses is a beautiful work which brings out the greatness of the author as a gifted poet.

नारायणभट्टपाद of Kerala of the 16th century A.D., is the author of a unique devotional poem of a little over 1000 (one thousand) verses overflowing with the sentiment of Bhakti and abounding in literary merits. This poem is called नारायणीयम् in which the author has abridged श्रीमद्भागवतम् in a masterly way. The tittle has a double significance. It describes the glorious deeds of Lord Narayana and was composed by a Narayana. The author has dedicated the poem to Lord Krishna, the presiding deity of the famous temple at Guruvayur in Kerala.

गङ्गालहरी and करुणालहरी of जगन्नाथपण्डित of the 17th, century A.D., are noted for their excellent form and the feelings expressed. They are addressed to the River Godess Ganga and Vishnu respectively praying to pardon him for all his sins and save him.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित of A.D., 1650 is the author of two lyrics—आनन्दसागरस्तव and शिवोत्कर्षमञ्जरी । In the former he describes tha state of bliss through devotion to पार्वती, and in the latter, he describes the eminence of शिव as the supreme God. He is an ardent शिवभक्त.

नारायणतीर्थ of the 18th, century A.D., is the author of कृष्णलीलातरङ्गिणी which describes Lord Krishna's birth

as a cowboy and his exploits in twelve divisions called Tarangas. The work consists of musical compositions of a very high order which are sung like गीतगोविन्दं in musical and dance recitals.

The lyrical poems in Sanskrit which had their origin in the Vedas have been continously composed all through the centuries up to the present day.

II. Gnomic or Didactic Poems सुभाषितानि.

The gnomic spirit found its expression in almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. Gnomic verses are found in the Vedas, in Dharma Sastras, Smritis, the epics, Mahakavyas, Dramas and fables. There are also independant poems dealing with morals, ethics, religion, philosophy etc. The Buddhists and Jains have contributed much to enrich this type of poetry in Sanskrit literature. Religion and Philosophy have influenced all branches of Indian Literature and hence they contain a large number of verses of didactic import.

Poems meant for instruction are called Didactic Poetry while those in the form of short pilthy maxims expressing general truth are called gnomic poems. Since the difference between the two is negligible they are treated under one heading.

Gnomic and Didactic poems cover a wide range of topics such as the fickle nature of human existence, the worthlessness of worldly pleasures, the advantages of detachment and renunciation, the power of inevitable

fate, the need for human effort, the honour attached to wealth and the contempt of poverty; the results of good and bad company, the nature of the wise and the wicked, the greatness of learning, the policies to be adopted for success in any undertaking by the kings etc., and they are expressed in a language endowed with much poetic beauty.

The origin of Didactic poetry can be traced to the Rig Veda. Mahabharata contains rich collections of such verses among which विदुरनीति in the उद्योगपर्व is very famous. An early collection of such verses in one book form is चाणक्यनीतिशास्त्र containing 340 stanzas dealing with rules of conduct in a general way. It is not clear whether the author of this work is the well known minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The work धम्मपाद is an attempt of the Buddhists to compose didactic poetry for the use of men of their faith.

The earliest work of didactic poetry about which some defenite information is available is the नीतिद्विषष्टिका of 116 verses in the Arya metre composed by सुन्दरपाण्ड्य of Madura. जनाश्रय of 600 A.D., quotes from this work in his छन्दोविचिति and the great मीमांसक कुमारिलभट्ट quotes from other lost works of सुन्दरपाण्ड्य. Therefore his date can be fixed about 500 A.D.

भर्तृहरि of the 7th century A.D., is the author of two Satakas—नीतिशतकम् and (2) वैराग्यशतकम्. The first is perhaps the best work of the type dealing with moral behaviour while the second written in a dignified style advocates the curbing of the tendency to enjoy sensual pleasures.

As a literary piece नीतिशतकं stands as the most prominent among other works of the same category. The verses express lofty ideas well illustrated and adorned with appropriate figures of speech. In वैराग्यशतकं the evils of attachement are pointed out and renunciation is encourged. In a most dignified style भर्तृहरि here expresses his own spiritual experiences during his life of renunciation.

मोहमुद्गरं of शङ्कराचार्य (8th century A.D.,) is another gnomic poem having a philosophical theme. It recommends the giving up of all worldly pleasures.

शम्भलीमतं or कुट्टनीमतं of दामोदरगुप्त deals with the moral codes of prostitutes. दामोदरगुप्त was one of the ministers in the court of King Jayapida of Kashmir in the early part of the 9th century A.D. Though the work was intended to prescribe a moral code to the prostitutes, it contains many beautiful maxims which should be known by every one. The Alankarikas मम्मट and रुय्यक quote from this and कल्हण mentions the author as a distinguished poet.

भल्लटशतकं of भल्लट is an allegorical poem which is called अन्यापदेश in Sanskrit. अभिनवगुप्त of the 11th century A.D., has quoted Bhallata who belonged to the last part of the 9th century A.D. भल्लट was probably the first poet in Sanskrit to use अन्यापदेश to condemn and hit hard at kings and influential men who were wanting in good sense but had attained undeserving high positions.

[The tradition of अन्यापदेश was continued in the अन्योक्तिमुक्तालता of शम्भु who lived in the early part of the 12th century A.D.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित of the 17th century A.D., has also composed one अन्यापदेशशतकं which gives some good principles of life by making an indirect reference to them through something else. नीलकण्ठदीक्षित is also the author of many minor poems among which कलिविडम्बनं is an interesting one. It is a satire on the happenings of कलियुग.]

वक्रोक्तिपञ्चाशिका of रत्नाकर of the 9th century A.D., is an interesting work in which Siva and Parvati exchange subtle questions and answers in the same manner as in the opening verse of मुद्राराक्षसम्.

अमितगिरि, a Jain ascetic of the 10th, century A.D., is the author of सुभाषितरत्नसन्दोह which deals with rules of good conduct for all men in general and for Jain Monks in particular. But for his frequent criticism of the Hindu customs and practices, this work would have become more popular.

क्षेमेन्द्रः of the 11th century A.D., is the author of a number of works which are didactic in character. चारुचर्या, समयमातृका and कलाविलासः are prominent among them. चारुचर्या is a collection of 100 verses composed by the author setting forth the rules of virtuous conduct with examples from mythology and popular tales. समयमातृका in eight sections describes the various wily methods employed by the courtesans to entice young men to their snare and deceive them. This work must have influenced जल्हण of the 12th, century A.D., who wrote his मुग्धोपदेश on the same subject. कलाविलास in ten sections deals with the various occupations of men pointing out vividly

the tricks and treacheries practised by certain sections. Kshemendra's genius find better expression in these short poems than in his longer works in the Mahakavya style

शिल्हण: of the 13th century A.D., is the author of शान्तिशतकं which is an imitation of Bhartruhari's वैराग्यशतकम्.

वेदान्ददेशिक of the 13th century A.D., is the author of सुभाषितनीवी a work containing 145 verses of wise sayings, on the model of नीतिशतक of भर्तृहरि.

So numerous are the didactic poems in Sanskrit that even a mere mention of their names is beyond the scope of a small work like this.

Anthology

Many authors have collected a number of didactic poems and have arranged them under various headings. The earliest collection of such verses is the चाणक्यशतकम् consisting of about 340 stanzas attributed to चाणक्य, the minister of चन्द्रगुप्तमौर्यः। The authorship of this work is still in doubt.

कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चयम् is an anthology containing a collection of about 525 stanzas from different authors. The authorship of the work is not known but it can be assigned to the 11th century A.D.

सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं of श्रीधरदास of the 12th century A.D., is a collection of about 2400 verses from 446 authors.

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि of सोमेश्वर of the 12th century A.D., is a work which gives information on a variety of subjects.

जल्हण of the 13th century A.D.,. is the author of सूक्तिमुक्तावली which contains about 2800 verses from 243 authors.

सायणाचार्य of the 14th century A.D., the great Vedic commentator, is the author of सुभाषितसुधानिधिः which contains beautiful verses from numerous authors.

शार्ङ्गधरपद्धति of शार्ङ्गधर of the 14th century A.D., contains about 5000 verses from 264 authors.

सुभाषितावली of वल्लभदेव of the 15th century A.D., contains about 3500 stanzas from 350 authors.

सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागारम् is a good collection of Subhashitas by K. P. Parab in recent times. It is a great storehouse of wise sayings and in it can be found some of the best poems of Sanskrit Literature.

Prose Romance — गद्यकाव्यानि

Origin :—

"अपादः पदसन्तानो गद्यम्" (Dandin). Prose is called गद्य in Sanskrit. Prose style attained a certain degree of development in the Vedic period. The यजुर्वेदसंहिता and the Brahmanas contain beautiful prose passages. In the Puranas special preference was shown to the verse form and prose was practically neglected. Yet the Mahabharata preserves a few ancient stories narrated in a

simple and beautiful prose style. This shows that prose was not totally neglected in the puranic age. Subjects like grammar and philosophy are dealt with in prose even from very early times but the style employed in them cannot be called literary prose. पतञ्जलि who lived in the 2nd, century A.D., wrote his व्याकरण महाभाष्यं in a majestic but simple prose style. He has referred to three prose works (आख्यायिकाः) by name वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा, and भैमरथी but he has not mentioned the authors वररुचि is said to have written a prose work called—चारुमती and जल्हण refers to रामिल and सोमिल as the authors of the prose work शूद्रककथा. None of these works is available now.

During the period just before and after the commencement of the christian era, literary prose style practically disappeared and every branch of literature was written in verse. Even subjects like Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine were treated in verse. The reason for the neglect of prose was probably the necessity to memorise the texts in the absenee of printed books. Verses are easy to memorise and the metrical language has a better appeal than ordinary prose. To impress the reader through prose requires great skill and ability on the part of the author to embellish the style with figures of sound and sense. Only first rate poets can write prose works of a high literary standard and hence the saying गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति ।

Development of Prose :—

Literary prose style began to develop from about the second century A.D. It was employed in popular

tales, fables and romances. Even in romances the prose style is highly artificial and sometimes dry. It is in fables and popular tales that we find a prose style that is simple and natural. The inscriptions of Harishena and Rudradaman of the 2nd century A.D., contain a few prose passages written in an ornate style which resembles the style of the later classical prose works of Bana and Dandin.

बाण of the 7th century A.D., refers to one भट्टारहरिचन्द्र as the author of a good prose work :—

"पदबन्धोज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो नृपायते ॥"

Unfortunately the prose work of भट्टारहरिचन्द्र is not preserved for us. We know nothing about it except this reference.

The real history of prose romance begins with सुबन्धु, दण्डी and बाण. The dates of Subandhu and Dandin are still in doubt but the date of Bana is known definitely since he was the court poet of Harshavardhana of Thaneswar who ruled during 604 and 648 A.D. Bana refers to a prose work by name Vasavadatta "कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया" । If this reference is to the work of that name written by सुबन्धु, then he can be placed in the 6th century A.D. Some scholars feel that the Vasavadatta referred to by Bana is different because, in their opinion, Subandhu's work is not so good as to be praised by Bana in high terms. According to them, the वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana may be the one mentioned by पतञ्जलि. They

place सुबन्धु somewhere in the 7th, century A.D., since वाक्पतिराज, the author of गौढवहो mentions his name.

वासवदत्ता, the heroine of Subandhu's work is not the legendary वासवदत्ता who eloped with Udayana and became his beloved queen. In Subandhu's work, Prince Kandarpaketu is the hero who elopes with वासवदत्ता. The story is entirely different though there are a few similarities with the story of उदयन and वासवदत्ता.

वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु is noted for the puns and long compounds. The poet himself proudly proclaims :—

"सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसदः चक्रे सुबन्धुर्भुवनैकबन्धु
प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिः प्रबन्धम् ।।"

As a result of the difficult words and puns, the sentiments described in this work do not appeal to the reader.

दशकुमारचरितं of दण्डी—The probable date of Dandin is the 7th century A.D. His दशकुमारचरितं is a prose work of considerable merit. The simple style and the political divisions of India mentioned in it suggest that the work could not have been written later than the 7th century A.D. He refers to सेतुबन्ध and बृहत्कथा and hence cannot be placed earlier than the 6th century A.D. Bana has not mentioned Dandin and therefore it is believed both Dandin and Bana belonged to the same period. Dandin is famous for his simple and graceful style—"दण्डिनः पदलालित्यम् is a popular saying.

It is not known whether Dandin was the poet's real name or a title acquired later. Some say that it was a title obtained as a result of using the word दण्ड several times in the मङ्गलश्लोक of दशकुमारचरितम्.

Dandin is also the author of an Alankara work called Kavyadarsa. Some of the rules laid down in Kavyadarsa are found violated in Dasakumaracharitam. Therefore some say that the author of Kavyadarsa is different from the author of Dasakumaracharitam. It is quite probable that the author of Kavyadarsa wrote the prose work when his knowledge and tastes have not fully matured.

Tradition attributes three works to Dandin "त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः" It appears the prose work अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथा, of which only a fragment has been preserved is the third work of Dandin. Some say that he wrote a work on prosody called छन्दोविचिति but no such work is now available.

In दशकुमारचरितं Dandin has described the adventures of ten princes. Here the graceful Kavya style is applied to folk-lore. Some portion in the beginning and at the end of the work are lost and the lost portions have been supplied by some other writers under the titles पूर्वपीठिका and उत्तरपीठिका । In the original दशकुमारचरितं now preserved, adventures of eight princes have been described in 8 chapters called ucchvasas. Prince Rajavahana is the leader of the group and the hero of the story. He is the son of राजहंस king of मगध who was residing in the forest after being defeated by मानसार, king of माल्व. अपहारवर्मा and उपहारवर्मा are two other princes who are

the sons of the king of Magadha, an ally of राजहंस ।. Seven others are the sons of ministers. They start in quest of their fortune. On the way they are seperated and after many years one after another meets राजवाहन and narrates the experience in his adventure. Unlike other prose writers Dandin's narration moves quickly and his style is simple and graceful. The episode depicted reflect the currupt state of society and the vices practised by men in certain parts of India in those times.

बाण: of the 7th century A.D. is the author of the two well-known classical prose works in Sanskrit—(1) कादम्बरी and (2) हर्षचरितम् । कादम्बरी is a fiction written in a highly artistic style. This work was left incomplete owing to the death of the author and his son भूषणबाण completed the story which is known as the उत्तरभाग of कादम्बरी. According to Bana, a good prose style should have the following merits—

नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः ।
विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुष्करम् ॥

Bana has succeeded in combining all these merits in his masterpiece कादम्बरी. Hence कादम्बरी is given the first place among prose works in Sanskrit. The popular saying—"कादम्बरीरसज्ञानां आहारोऽपि न रोचते" shows the popularity of the work. The main plot is taken from बृहत्कथा of गुणाढ्य but बाण has improved it and has presented it in a highly artistic style. He has depicted emotions like love, grief, hope, despondency etc., with a masterly hand. The main story deals with the love of चन्द्रापीड a prince of Ujjain with कादम्बरी a

Gandharva princess. Within that is interwoven the love story of the minister's, son वैशम्पायन to महाश्वेता the daughter of a Gandharva chieftain. This makes the story highly complicated and difficult to follow. To make matters worse, the story is narrated by a parrot which is वैशम्पायन in another birth, to king शूद्रक who is no other than चन्द्रापीड in another birth..

In poetic fancy, in the elaborate descriptions of natural scenery, in the forcible expression of sentiments and in giving graphic accounts of customs and manners of people in and around the courts of kings, there is no other writer who can stand comparison to Bana. Being well-versed in the Vedas and Puranic lore, he has freely alluded to Vedic legends and puranic stories which have embellished his prose. He has touched upon every object in the universe and every aspect of life by way of comparison, उत्प्रेक्षा etc., and hence the popular saying "बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्".

Some western scholars however find it very difficult to read, understand and appreciate the long and complicated sentences of Bana which sometimes extend to three or four pages. Prof. Weber remarks—'Bana's prose is an Indian wood where the undergrowth must be cut away to render a passage possible, and wild beasts in the shape of unknown words lie in wait for the wayfarer'. Indian scholars and critics however find Bana's style and the story of Kadambari most absorbing in their interest.

हर्षचरितं is a work in which ornate prose style is applied to a historical theme. In the introductory verses

of this work Bana refers to some of his well-known predecessors and speaks about the merits of good prose. He then proceeds to give a brief account of his family history in two chapters and then begins to narrate the story of Harshavardhana, his patron. The work is left incomplete.

Prose romances in Sanskrit are generally classified into two types—(1) कथा and (2) आख्यायिका. According to this classification कादम्बरी is a कथा and हर्षचरितं is an आख्यायिका. In the former, the artistic prose style is applied to fiction while in the latter it is applied to a historical theme. Dandin criticises their twofold division of prose works. After giving his reasons for criticising the twofold division, he concludes :—

"तत्कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता"

After Bana, very few have succeeded in writing good and original prose works.

तिलकमञ्जरी of धनपाल—Dhanapala, a Jain author of the 10th century A.D., is the author of a prose work called तिलकमञ्जरी. The theme is a love story taken from Jain legends. The author imitates Bana's कादम्बरी in every respect.

गद्यचिन्तामणिः of वादीभसिंहः—Vadibhasimha otherwise known as ओडयदेवः of about the 12th century A.D., is the author of a prose work called Gadyachintamani. It describes the life of a prince Jain who became an ascetic.

विद्यानाथ also known as अगस्त्य who is the author of the popular Alankara work प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणं and a महाकाव्यं in 20 cantos called बालभारतं is the author of a prose work called कृष्णचरितं based on श्रीमद्भागवम्. He was patronised by king प्रतापरुद्र of 1294 to 1325 A.D.

वेमभूपालचरितं of वामनभट्टबाण: of the 15th century A.D., is a good prose work which rivals with हर्षचरितम् in style. The poet himself says that his ambition is to excel Bana in writing good prose. Though the style is good, the work is much inferior to हर्षचरितं and कादम्बरी in many respects. The exploits of an Andhra cheiftain are described in this work. The same author has written a drama called पार्वतीपरिणयम् ।

There are a large number of Dandakas and Churnikas which can be included in the गद्यकाव्यम्. Most of them are devotional like the श्यामलादण्डकं attributed to Kalidasa.

The Champu Kavyas—चम्पूकाव्यानि

Dandin defines Champu thus :—

" गद्यपद्यमयी काचिच्चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते "

The origin of Champu Kavyas is traced by some scholars to the primitive narrative prose style into which descriptive verses were introduced here and there. The Jatakas of Buddhists in the Pali language have artless prose lines mixed up with beautiful verses. In course

of time, the prose style was improved to match the beautiful verses and thus the Champu-Kavyas must have come to existence.

Others trace the origin of चम्पू to the parallel existence of the two types of literature—the prose and poetry—both dealing with the same kind of subject matter. These two types must have got mixed up at a later stage and such mixed works were treated, in course of time, as a separate branch of literature. It is also quite probable that some prose writers introduced beautiful verses in their works in order to improve the emotional effect and gradually more and more verses were introduced and such works began to be treated as a separate class called चम्पू Kavyas.

Dandin of the 7th century A.D., refers to चम्पू Kavyas but no चम्पूकाव्य, written during his period or earlier is now available. In some of the Kavya inscriptions we find verses interspersed with prose passages but they cannot be called चम्पू Kavyas.

त्रिविक्रमभट्ट:—नलचम्पू and मदालसाचम्पू: Among the Champu Kavyas now preserved Nalachampu and Madalasachampu of Trivikrama Bhatta are the earliest. Nalachampu is also called दमयन्तीकथा। त्रिविक्रमभट्ट: quotes बाण and is quoted by भोज of the 11th century A.D. He imitates the style of Bana and is assigned to the 10th century A.D. दमयन्तीकथा is an incomplete work consisting of seven Ucchvasas. It describes the story of नल and दमयन्ती in a style that is terse. He tries to imitate बाण and uses long compounds and puns in plenty. It is said that the

father of त्रिविक्रमभट्ट was challenged in his absence by a rival and त्रिविक्रम wrote this work to meet that challenge. On the arrival of his father he stopped it and left the work incomplete. In the introductory verses he refers to वाल्मीकि, व्यास, बाण, and गुणाढ्य.

यशस्तिलकचम्पू of सोमदेव, a Jain poet of the 10th century A.D., has a romantic theme but the main purpose of the poet is to teach the tenets of Jainism through a चम्पूकाव्यम्. This work contains more of didactic matter than literary merit. King मारिदत्त prepares to offer a pair of human beings in a sacrifice to the godess. A young boy and a girl who are twins and who are selected for offering in the sacrifice tell the story of their past birth and also that of the king. सुदत्त a sage gives useful advice to the king and points out the futility of performing the sacrifice. Ultimately the king is converted to Jainism.

जीवन्धरचम्पू of हरिचन्द्र deals with the life of Jain saint जीवन्धर:. The theme is the same as that of गद्यचिन्तामणि of वादीभसिंह । The author must have lived some where in the 10th century A.D. This हरिचन्द्र cannot be identical with भट्टारहरिचन्द्र referred to by बाण.

भोज of the 11th century A.D., is the author of the popular रामायणचम्पू: which is noted for the beautiful style of its verses. There is a tradition ascribing the verses of this work to the joint authorship of Kalidasa and Bhoja but this tradition cannot be believed. The style of the prose passages is rather laboured and artificial. Bhoja wrote this work only up to the end of सुन्दरकाण्ड and the Yuddhakanda was later written by one Lakshmana.

अभिनव कालिदास of the 11th century A.D., is the author of भागवतचम्पूः in six chapters. Some place this author in the 14th century A.D. अनन्तभट्ट the author of भारतचम्पूः has also written a भागवतचम्पूः which he is supposed to have written to compete with अभिनवकालिदासः । Another चम्पू of the same name (भागवतचम्पू) was written by चिदम्बरकविः, the author of Raghava-Pandava Yadaviyam.

अनन्तभट्ट of the 14th century A.D., is the author of भारतचम्पूः in 12 chapters which is very popular in South India. The work has beautifully summarised the great epic महाभारतम्.

सोड्डल a क्षत्रिय of the 11th, century A.D., is the author of उदयसुन्दरीकथा which written in the form of verses and prose can be reasonably treated as a चम्पूकाव्यम्. In six Ucchvasas the author deals with the love and marriage between उदयसुन्दरी, a नाग princess and मलयवाहन, a king of प्रतिष्ठान. The first chapter of the work is autobiographical. The style of the चम्पू is very attractive.

शेषकृष्ण of the 17th century A.D., is the author of पारिजातहरणचम्पूः ।

नीलकण्ठदीक्षितः of the 17th century A.D,, is the author of a popular चम्पूकाव्य called नीलकण्ठविजयचम्पूः which narrates the story of Siva's conquest of the त्रिपुर, the strong city of the demons. Nilakanthadikshita is noted for his simple style and subtle humour. His work is full of lofty ideas and is rich in poetic fancy.

वेङ्कटाध्वरिः of the 17th century A.D., is the author of an interesting and popular चम्पूः called विश्वगुणादर्शचम्पूः ।

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In this the author has made two persons visit various places in India and debate among themselves on various topics connected with the places and people they have visited. Here the author gives a beautiful account of the good and bad aspects in the life and culture of the people in various parts of India. Venkatadhvari has also written three more Champu Kavyas of lesser importance. They are --वरदाभ्युदयचम्पूः, उत्तरचम्पूः and श्रीनिवास चम्पूः

Many authors belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries A.D., have written Champu Kavyas such as Draupadi-parinaya Champu of chakra Kavi, Varadambika parinaya Champu of Thirumalamba etc. Apart from these works, there are many interesting Prabandhas by नारायणभट्टपाद, the author of नारायणीयम्. These prabandhas can very well be included among the Champu Kavyas.

Popular Tales—कथाग्रन्था:

From very early times, popular stories of the type of western fairy tales were current among the people of India. These popular tales first assumed literary form in प्राकृत dilects. The layman is not interested in the ornamental style of the epic poems and prose romance. He takes delight in the graphic accounts of thrilling episodes narrated in a language he can easily follow. Therefore, side by side with ornate poetry and prose there existed among the common people, several legends and tales in the dialects spoken by them. कालिदास refers to the stories of उदयन current among the villagers of अवन्ती. The earliest and most important work giving a collection of a large number of such popular tales is the बृहत्कथा of गुणाढ्य ।

This work was written in a dialect not commonly spoken by the people. Dandin calls it भूतभाषा and some scholars believe that it was the language of some tribal people living in the Vindhyan ranges.

It is not possible to fix the exact date of बृहत्कथा. Since Bana and Dandin have paid high tributes to the work, it must have been written before the 6th century A.D. Bana speaks of बृहत्कथा thus—

" समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।
हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ।। "

Dandin says—

" भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुःद्भूतार्थां बृहत्कथाम् । "

From Dandin we also understand that this was written in prose. The work is now lost but it must have enjoyed great popularity before the 7th century A.D.

बुधस्वामी, सोमदेव and क्षेमेन्द्र who have provided us with abridged versions of बृहत्कथा in Sanskrit have given some information about गुणाढ्य based on legends. According to one legend, Siva was once narrating a tale of seven Vidhyadhara kings to पार्वती in private. पुष्पदन्त, one of the attendants of Siva overheard the story and narrated it to his wife Jaya, who in turn, told the same to other maids of पार्वती. When पार्वती came to know of that she cursed पुष्पदन्त to be born as a mortal and return to Siva after telling the tale to some one on earth. She also cursed माल्यवान् who pleaded on behalf of his brother पुष्पदन्त to become a mortal and return to Kailasa after

spreading the story on earth. पुष्पदन्त was born as वररुचि who retired to the forest in his old age and after narrating the story of the Vidhyadhara kings to a goblin called काणभूति, went back to Siva. माल्यवान् was born as गुणाढ्य who became the minister of king सातवाहन who ruled out प्रतिष्ठान । गुणाढ्य met काणभूति in the विन्ध्या forest, heard the seven stories of the Vidyadhara kings from him and wrote them in the same language known as भूतभाषा or पैशाचीभाषा. King सातवाहन rejected the work as it was written in the पैशाची language. In a fit of despair गुणाढ्य began to burn his work chapter by chapter but his disciples prevented him from burning the last book containing the story of the last Vidyadhara king and that book is बृहत्कथा now completely lost.

The stories of बृहत्कथा have been handed down to us in three works of later origin. They are—(1) कथासरित्सागरः of सोमदेव, (2) श्लोकसंग्रहः of बुधस्वामी and (3) बृहत्कथामञ्जरी of क्षेमेन्द्रः । All these three works are in Sanskrit verses. Of these कथासरित्सागर is the longest consisting of about 22000 verses. This work seems to agree more with the original than that of क्षेमेन्द्र. सोमदेव flourished in the latter half of the 11th century A. D.

As regards श्लोकसंग्रह, only a portion of the work consisting of about 4500 verses is now preserved. The style of this work is simple and natural and it appears to have reproduced the original more faithfully than the other two. बुधस्वामि was a native of Nepal. His date is not known but he must have been earlier than क्षेमेन्द्र and सोमदेव who both belonged to the 11th century A.D. बृहत्कथामञ्जरी of क्षेमेन्द्र is not a work of considerable merit. It summerises बृहत्कथा in about 7500 verses.

Many popular stories and legends current in ancient India find a place in बृहत्कथा and its Sanskrit version कथासरित्सागरः. Many Sanskrit poets and dramatists have drawn their plot from this work. The main plot of बृहत्कथा is as follows :—नरवाहनदत्तः, the hero, sets out on a foreign tour with वेगवती। Being separated from her he goes with Gomukha on a series of adventures which result in his marriage with मदनमञ्जुका and the attainment of the kingship of the Vidyadharas. मदनमञ्जुका maintains her chastity when she was separated from her husband and in this respect the plot resembles the story of the Ramayana. Within the main story are introduced many tales of adventure, wonders, legends and thrilling episodes which appeal to the common people.

अवदानशतकम् of unknown authorship is a collection of one hundred tales of Buddhistic origin. Each अवदान (story of illustrious deeds) refers to some story of the past and draws a moral from it. This work was translated into Chinese in the middle of the 3rd century A.D., and hence it must have been composed in the first or second century A.D.

दिव्यावदानम् is another collection of stories of the above type belonging almost to the same period.

जातकमाला of आर्यशूरः contains a collection of several interesting stories of the Buddhists. This work must have been written before the 5th century A.D., since it was translated into Chinese in the middle of the 5th century A.D. The work is mainly written in prose though interspersed with verses. It is said to contain about 500 stories.

वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका is a collection of 25 stories supposed to have been narrated by a vampire (वेताल) to King विक्रमादित्यः. King Vikrama goes to the burrial ground to fetch a corpse hanging from a tree for the magic rite of an ascetic. A vampire that had taken possession of the dead body narrates a story to the king while he is carrying the corpse and puts a question in the end. The moment the king answers the vampire returns to the tree with the corpse. Everyday the incident is repeated, a new story is narrated and the question is answered. This continues for 24 days and on the 25th, day Vikrama proceeded without answering the question and the ascetic offered the corpse as an oblation into fire and gained his object. He was turned into a semi-divine being and he departed after granting many boons to the king. These stories are very old and were first written in Prakrita dialects. The Sanskrit version of वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका was written by one शिवदास of the 12th century A.D.

सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका is another collection of 32 stories supposed to have been narrated by the images supporting the steps of the throne of विक्रमादित्य to king Bhoja who attempted to ascend the throne. These stories recount the great feats of Vikramaditya. The author and date of the work are not known. This work is also called द्वात्रिंशत्पुत्तलिका.

शुकसप्ततिः is another interesting collection of popular tales narrated by a parrot to its erring mistress in order to refrain her from betraying her absent husband. These stories contain very high morals and are narrated in a simple prose style The author and date of this work also are not known.

The three works—वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका, सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका and शुकसप्तति: are so popular that they have been translated into almost all Indian languages.

भोजप्रबन्ध: of बल्लालसेन: of the 16th century A.D., is another work which gives many interesting ancedotes concerning the court-life of king Bhoja. These ancedotes connect Bhoja with all the great poets like Kalidasa, Dandin, Bana, Magha, Bhavabhuti etc. Some of these ancedotes are full of humour and wit. The work is written in prose interspersed with verses.

Apart from the above works there are many Buddhists works which contain several interesting stories of wisdom. Most of them are written in the mixed style of prose and poetry.

Fables—पशुपक्षिकथा:

Ancient Indians lived close to nature and in their daily life they were always surrounded by birds and animals which gave them opportunities to study their behaviour. This close association with nature has given rise to many didactic fables. The Rig Veda contains a hymn where the croaking of frogs in the rainy season is compared to the chanting of Mantras by Brahmins. In the Mahabharata we find fables quoted to illustrate state policy. Duryodhana is advised to treat the Pandavas as the clever jackal did his friends. विदुर advises धृतराष्ट्र not to cause any harm to the sons of Pandu lest he should kill the bird laying 'golden eggs'.

The Buddist Jatakas contain a number of popular fables. व्याकरणमहाभाष्यं of पतञ्जलि points to the existence of fables in the third century B.C. From the above references it can be safely concluded that fables were current in ancient India even before 2nd century B.C.

In the works of the Buddhists the fables are given a religious significance while in those of the Hindus in Sanskrit they are used for teaching morals and politics. In course of time the didactic motive of fables was developed deliberately and the fables were arranged in a series within the frame work of a single book giving moral and political lessons. Such works deal with most of the topics that are discussed in Arthasastra and Nitisastra and the fables are used as illustrations of the precepts.

It is not possible to say when exactly the earliest work giving a collection of these fables was composed. The पञ्चतन्त्रम् is the oldest collection of fables now preserved and it was probably composed in the 2nd century A.D. During this period Sanskrit began to reassert itself as the court language and the princes were in need of text books which would instruct them in the language of the court (Sanskrit) and also in the state-craft simultaneously. पञ्चतन्त्रं satisfied this double purpose. In this work the moral precepts and political maxims are given in verses and the fables are narrated in simple prose to illustrate them. There is a translation of the Panchatantram in the language known as Pahlavi from which it was translated into Syriac in 570 A.D. Therefore पञ्चतन्त्रं must have been composed before the IV century A.D.

The authorship of पञ्चतन्त्रं is attributed to one विष्णुशर्मा a Brahmin Pandit who is said to have composed it to educate the young princes. While Western scholars express doubt regarding the authorship of विष्णुशर्मा, some scholars go to the extent of identifying this विष्णुशर्मा with विष्णुगुप्त, the author of अर्थशास्त्रम् who is also known by the name चाणक्य:. The text of पञ्चतन्त्रं must have undergone many changes in course of time. The various readings in the text that are found t. -day are mainly due to the popularity of the work which has travelled all over Asia and Europe and has been translated in almost all Asian and European languages.

The style of Panchatantram is simple and natural. It is admirably suited to the subject matter and the purpose of the work. The work is divided into five sections called Tantras and hence the title पञ्चतन्त्रम्. The Tantras are— सुहृद्भेद:, मित्रलाभ:, काकोलूकीयम् लब्धप्रणाश: and अपरीक्षितकारकम् । मित्रभेद or Estrangement of friends deals with the policy of divide and rule which is illustrated by the story of a lion and a bull which were friends for a long time were divided by two cunning jackals—करटक and दमनक । मित्रलाभ deals with the value of friendship and mutual alliance while काकोलूकीयम् the tale of crows and owls deals with war, its causes and possibilities of peace. लब्धप्रणाश illustrates through the story of a monkey and a crocodile how one loses what he has owing to carelessness. अपरीक्षितकारकं shows how inconsiderate action brings ruin.

हितोपदेश: of नारायण is another popular work giving a collection of didactic fables. This work is only a reconstructed edition of the original Panchatantram by omitting a few fables and adding some new ones. About 17 new fables have been introduced in it. This work is divided into four sections—मित्रलाभ:, सुहृद्भेद:, सन्धि: and विग्रह:. The earliest manuscript of हितोपदेश is dated 1373 and therefore the work must have been composed in the 13th or 14th, century A.D. The style of हितोपदेश is simple and easy and the subject matter is arranged in four sections with a better sense of proportion in length. So it is fit to be used as a good text book for the beginners.

Another reconstituted version of पञ्चतन्त्र is पञ्चाख्यानकं which appears to be the work of a Jain author. The work is enlarged by adding many new stories. One verse from शृङ्गारतिलकं of रुद्रभट्ट appears in this work and hence it cannot be placed earlier than 11th, century A.D.

Though Indian fables, especially पञ्चतन्त्र, were very popular in foreign countries and no other book except the Bible has been translated into so many languages as पञ्चतन्त्र it is not possible to state that Indian fables influenced the Greek fables or vice versa. The fables of Aesop were current in Greece even in 5th, century B.C. It is reasonable to conclude that the fables of the two countries had independant origin and development.

The Drama—रूपकाणि

Origin :—

In Sanskrit Drama we have an important branch of literature which had a full and varied national development quite independent of any external influence. भरत in his नाटयशास्त्रं tells about the Vedic origin of Sanskrit Drama. According to his account the Gods approached ब्रह्मा and requested him to create an entertainment which would please their eyes and ears simultaneously—"क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं च यद्भवेत्," Accordingly the creator took the dialogue from the Rig Veda, music from the Sama Veda, gestures (acting) from the Yajur Veda and sentiments from the Atharva Veda and thus created a fifth Veda called नाटयवेदम् :—

"नाटयवेदं ततश्चक्रे चतुर्वेदाङ्गसम्भवम् ।
जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।
यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानथर्वणादपि ॥"

The creator then gave the Natya Veda to Bharata who brought it to the earth. This theory of divine origin is supported by कालिदास in the verse :—

"देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयः कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषम्"

While भरत equates नाटयशास्त्रं with वेद Kalidasa equates नाटयं with a vedic sacrifice suggesting that नाटय has some religious significance. The earliest reference to acted drama is found in the महाभाष्य which mentions

बलिबन्ध and कंसवध, both episodes from the history of विष्णु-कृष्ण। Bharata is said to have enacted a drama, लक्ष्मीस्वयंवर in the presence of the Gods in heaven before bringing the नाट्यवेद to the earth. Tradition attributes the origion of संगीतं to the रास of Lord Krishna and the Gopis. The Yatras of Bengal and the गीतगोविन्दं which represents the transitional stage from lyric to dance-dram a have the stories of Krishna as their theme. All these suggest that Sanskrit drama had some religious significance and was connected with the Krishna cult in its early period of development. Some trace the origin of dance to the ताण्डव of Lord Siva.

Apart from the above traditions claiming divine origin, it is possible to trace historically a religious, and to some extent a secular origin for the Sanskrit drama. There are references in the Vedas to music and dance recitals during religious ceremonies. The Rig Veda contains dialogues such as those of यम and यमी, सरमा and पाणिः and उर्वशी and पुरूरवस्. There is impersonation and gestures in the Vedic rituals. The stories of the Puranas and the Itihasas like the Mahabharatam and Ramayanam were narrated by professional story-tellers to entertain the audience. They must have used some gestures and music to make their narration impressive. Thus the origin of Sanskrit drama can be traced to a happy combination of music, dance, dialogues, gestures and stories employed both in religious ceremonies and secular assemblies. Some of the old dramas represent the exploits of gods while others deal with events in the lives of national heroes and common people. This shows

that Sanskrit drama was both religious and secular in its origin and purpose. The word नट, नाट्य and नाटक are derived from the root नट्, the प्राकृत or vernacular form of Sanskrit नृत् to dance. This shows the connection of नाटक with the common people and supports the above conclusion.

There was a time when some western critics made an attempt to show that Sanskrit drama had its origin from the Greek drama. They based their arguments on certain similarities between the Greek and Indian plays such as the division of the play into Acts, all actors leaving the stage at the end of an act, division of characters into high, middle and low and the use of the word यवनिका for curtain etc. They held that Greek dramas were staged in India after Alexander's invasion and that gave rise to Indian drama. The mention of the enactment of two plays—कंसवध and बलिबन्ध—in महाभाष्य and the fact that ten types of Sanskrit drama has been defined in the नाट्यशास्त्र prove that drama existed in India even before Alexander's invasion. If there are a few similarities, there are more differences between Greek and Indian plays such as the absence of tragedy, non observance of the unity of time and place etc. It is doubtful whether the Greek Theatre had a curtain. The यवनिका in the Sanskrit drama most probably refers to the Persian tapestry, the material used to make the curtain. Moreover, the presence of a few similar traits cannot prove that one has borrowed from the other. Indian theatrical representation has many things common with that of Shakespear, but no mutual influence

could be pointed out or even imagined. It is possible that some western influence entered into the structure of Sanskrit Drama after the contact with the Greek which is but natural.

In the opinion of some Indian scholars, the word सूत्रधार which literally means the holder of the threads suggest the possibility of Sanskrit Drama originating from the puppet show. It is more probable that the puppet show is only a poor attempt to imitate the dramatic performance. सूत्र refers to नाट्यसूत्र of भरत and not to the thread.

Development of Sanskrit Drama. (Pre-Kalidasan Period)

पतञ्जलिः in his महाभाष्यं refers to two dramas – कंसवधः and बलिबन्धः and also to actors (शोभनिकाः) who staged these dramas. Bharata's Natyasastra refers to the staging of a drama called लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरम् । Bharata further classifies dramas into ten main types taking into account the nature of their plot, the length of the play, the nature of the hero, heroine and the sentiments etc. This classification and their definitions clearly show that Bharata had before him a good number of plays belonging to the different types. But none of the above mentioned works are now preserved.

The earliest of dramas that are now available are the 13 plays of Bhasa popularly known as the Trivandrum plays. There was a great controversy about the authorship

and date of these plays but it is now generally accepted that they are the abridged versions of the plays of the great Bhasa whom Kalidasa mentions in his Malavikagnimitram. Bhasa's date cannot be fixed with any amount of certainity but he cannot be placed later than the second century B.C. Kalidasa of the 1st, century B.C., refers to him as a great and popular dramatist in his play मालविकाग्निमित्रम्. The प्राकृत used by him is defenitely older than that of कालिदास. The rules regarding the composition and staging of dramas laid down in नाट्यशास्त्र (2nd, century B.C.,) are not strictly observed by भास and some of them are even violated such as the representation of death on the stage. Even Panini's grammar is found violated in many places. Therefore भास has to be placed in the fourth, or at any rate, somewhere in the 3rd, century B.C. His 13 plays are :—

(1) स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्
(2) प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणम
(3) चारुदत्तम्
(4) अविमारकम्
(5) प्रतिमानाटकम्
(6) अभिषेकनाटकम्
(7) कर्णभारम्
(8) दूतवाक्यम
(9) दूतघटोत्कचम्
(10) मध्यमव्यायोग:
(11) पाञ्चरात्रम्
(12) ऊरुभङ्गम् and
(13) बालचरितम्

Of these 13 plays the first four are based on popular legends, the next two are based on the Ramayana, the next six plays are based on the Mahabharatam and the last one is based on विष्णुपुराणम्. ऊरुभङ्ग is a tragedy in

the strict sense of the term. In it Bhasa has represented on the stage the death of the Hero, Duryodhana while Bharata has prohibited a death scene in a dramatic representation :

"न कार्यं मरणं रङ्गे नाट्यधर्मं विजानता"

In the variety of incidents and characters described, Bhasa stands foremost among Sanskrit dramatists. स्वप्नवासवदत्तं is the best of the 13 plays. There is a tradition which says that critics tested the merits of Bhasa by throwing his works into the fire but the fire did not burn his Svapnavasavadattam :—

"भासनाटकचक्रेऽस्मिन् छेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः" ॥

Authorship of the 13 Trivandrum Plays

In the prelude of मालविकाग्निमित्रं Kalidasa refers to भास as a popular dramatist. Bana also refers to him in very high terms thus :—

"सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैः नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।
सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

Many poets, critics and commentators have quoted verses from Bhasa's dramas and have mentioned the two plays स्वप्नवासवदत्तं and प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणं by name. Apart from these references nothing was known about Bhasa and his works for a long time. Towards the end of the

19th century it was considered that Bhasa's works were lost for ever.

In 1906 the late महामहोपाध्याय T. Ganapathi Sastri discovered 13 unpublished dramas and published them in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series attributing their authorship to the great Bhasa. Mr. Ganapathi Sastri put forward the following main arguments in support of his conclusion :—

(1) Bana's reference "सूत्रधारकृतारम्भै: " etc., strictly applies to these 13 plays. All of them begin with the entry of सूत्रधार while the plays of other Sanskrit dramatists begin with नान्दी. The words " बहुभूमिकै: " and सपताकै: in Bana's reference indicate the large variety of characters and incidents in Bhasa's works and the 13 plays justify that.

(2) A large number of verses quoted from Bhasa by Alankarikas and others are found in these works.

(3) Among the 13 plays स्वप्नवासवदत्तं is the best and this fact agrees with the verse " भासनाटकचक्रेऽस्मिन. . . ." etc.

(4) All the 13 plays bear marks of common authorship. The word स्थापना is used for प्रस्तावना. The name of the poet or the work is not mentioned in the स्थापना as it is done by other dramatists The Sthapanas are too brief and follow the same pattern in all the works. The name of a king राजहंस is mentioned in the भरतवाक्य of 8 plays out of 13. All these indicate common authorship.

(5) The प्राकृत dialects used in these works appear to be very old. In संस्कृतं, certain rules of Panini are found violated in more than one place. Therefore the author of these plays must have flourished much earlier to the period when Panini's grammar was accepted as authority.

(6) Bharata's Natyasastra prohibits the representation of death scene on the stage. Bhasa has represented death on the stage in two of his plays—ऊरुभङ्गं and प्रतिमानाटकम्. This violation of Bharata's rules indicates that Bhasa was earlier than Bharata.

On the above mentioned grounds as well as some more minor grounds, Ganapathi Sastry attributed the 13 plays to the authorship of Bhasa who must have lived before the IV century B.C.

Prof. A. B. Keith and some others accepted the theory of Mr. Ganapathi Sastri while some Indian scholars vehemently attacked it. They put forward the following main arguments :—

(1) The stage direction introducing Sutradhara at the beginning of the play has no special significance since such directions are found in some old manuscripts of Kalidasa's plays also.

(2) Certain verses of Bhasa quoted by later writers are not found in the published works. अभिनवगुप्त and रामचन्द्र of the 11th century A.D., who are usually reliable in their information have quoted two verses from Bhasa's स्वप्नवासवदत्तं which are not found in the published work.

(3) The grammatical irregularities found in abundance in the published works only reveal the author's poor knowledge of grammar. They cannot be justified by taking the author back to the Pre-Paninian era.

(4) There are many other defects in the published works which only reveal the inability of the author to produce faultless plays. So these works must have been the product of one or more inferior authors.

It is suggested by these critics that the 13 Trivandrum plays might have been the productions of the professional actors and story-tellers of Malabar known as Chakyars whose knowledge of the language and grammar was not very high.

A careful study of the 13 plays would show that they are the productions of a really great dramatist. The large variety of characters and situations described in these works fully justify the high tribute paid by Bana. The absence of certain verses quoted by Alankarikas can be omissions on account of the loss of certain leaves in the manuscripts of deliberate omissions by the Chakyars who used to stage the plays. It is quite common among professional actors to omit certain portions of the original and prepare stage versions of the plays. Therefore it will be more correct if we say that the 13 plays are the stage versions of the original works of Bhasa abridged and preserved by the professional actors of Malabar.

The significance of Bana's reference to सूत्रधारकृतारम्भ etc., cannot be easily ignored. It is too presumptuous

to suggest that the author of 13 beautiful plays did not possess the knowledge of the elementary rules of grammar. The two verses quoted by अभिनवगुप्त and रामचन्द्र have a context in the published स्वप्नवासवदत्तं and their absence must be due to the loss of a leaf in the manuscript or on account of deliberate omission in the stage version. Thus it is quite reasonable to assume that the 13 Trivandrum plays are the abridged stage-versions of Bhasa's original Dramas.

स्वप्नवासवदत्तं in six acts deals with Udayana's marriage with पद्मावती arranged secretly by his able minister यौगन्धरायण by hiding the king's beloved wife वासवदत्ता and proclaiming that she was burnt in the fire of लावाणक. The purpose of the devoted minister is to get back the lost territory of उदयन and वासवदत्ता co-operates with him by sacrificing all her comforts for sometime. The dream scene in the play is the poet's own invention and highly dramatic. Hence the title स्वप्नवासवदत्तं or स्वप्ननाटकम् .

प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणं in four acts describes the earlier life of उदयन who was imprisoned by the king of Ujjain and father of वासवदत्ता. यौगन्धरायण vows to free his master and succeeds in making उदयन escape along with वासवदत्ता.

चारुदत्तं in four acts describes the love story of a poor Brahmin चारुदत्त to a rich courtesan वसन्तसेना who reciprocates his love.

अविमारकं in six acts deals with the secret love of अविमारक (a prince who had lost his status and dignity due to a curse) and कुरङ्गी, the daughter of कुन्तिभोज. In the end the identity of अविमारक is revealed by नारद and he marries कुरङ्गी ।.

प्रतिमानाटकं represents the story of Rama from the preparations for his coronation by Dasaratha upto his cornation after the 14 years of exile. Many innovations have been made by भास in the plot among which the statue (प्रतिमा) scene is highly original and dramatic. The play is named after that scene. अभिषेकनाटकं begins with the killing of वाली and ends with Rama's coronation.

कर्णभारं is a one act play describing the episode of Indra begging in the disguise of a Brahmin and receiving the armour and the ear rings of कर्ण । दूतवाक्यम् also a one act play deals with the episode of Lord Krishna going to the Kauravas as a messenger of the Pandavas seeking peace.

दूतघटोत्कचं is a one act play in which घटोत्कच appears in the battlefield after the death of अभिमन्यु and predicts the death of Kauravas. मध्यमव्यायोग also a one act play deals with an imaginary episode in which हिडिम्बा employs a clever device with the help of her son घटोत्कच to meet her husband भीम during the exile of the Pandavas.

पाञ्चरात्रं is a play in three acts actually dealing with the incident of the Kauravas stealing the cows of the king of Virata in order to discover the presence of Pandavas in his palace. Bhasa has made far-reaching changes in the plot and has represented दुर्योधन in a favourable light. ऊरुभङ्गं is a one act play dealing with the fall of दुर्योधन with his thigs broken by the mace of Bhima, the last few hours of his life and final death. This play is the only real tragedy in Sanskrit dramatic literature. Here again Bhasa has represented दुर्योधन as a great hero possessing superior valour and virtues.

बालचरितं in five acts describes the birth and exploits of Lord Krishna till the killing of Kamsa. Bhasa has deviated very much from the accounts of Krishna given in the श्रीमद्भागवतम्, विष्णुपुराणम् and हरिवंश ।

It is possible that Bhasa has written a few more plays and that will account for the verses quoted by some later writers not found in the published works.

सौमिल्ल: and कविपुत्र: are two dramatists mentioned by Kalidasa along with भास । Nothing definite is known about these two authors and their works. Only so much is known about the predecessors of Kalidasa.

कालिदासः is the author of three plays named मालविकाग्निमित्रम्, विक्रमोर्वशीयम्. and अभिज्ञानाशकुन्तलम्. Malavikagnimitra which was probably the first play written by Kalidasa has for its plot a love story of Agnimitra who is a historical figure. He was the son of पुष्यमित्र, the founder of the Sunga dynasty. The drama, though mainly concerned with the love story of Agnimitra refers to certain historical events such as the performance of a horse sacrifice by पुष्यमित्र, the enemity between Madhavasena and Yajnasena and the final division of the Malva kingdom between them. The poet also refers to some of his predecessors in this work.

The plots of the विक्रमोर्वशीयं and अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलं are taken from the महाभारतम्. The origin of Vikramorvasiyam can even be traced to certain hymns of the Rig Veda. The fourth act of this play describes the उन्मादावस्था of the hero and contains a number of lyric stanzas. Many of the अपभ्रंश verses that are found in

the fourth act in certain editions of this drama are considered as interpollations.

शाकुन्तलम् in seven acts is perhaps the last play written by Kalidasa. It bears the marks of maturity in all respects. Though the plot is taken from the Mahabharata, Kalidasa has introduced a major innovation in the signet ring (अभिज्ञान) which has transformed the whole plot. The main sentiment in the play is शृङ्गार but there is an under-current of करुण beautifully portrayed from the 4th act onwards. Poetical genius and dramatic skill of Kalidasa have attained their perfection in this drama which has received the highest praise from all over the world. The German poet Goethe speaks of शाकुन्तलं thus :—

> " Would'st thou the young year's blossoms
> and the fruits of its decline
> And all by which the soul is charmed,
> enraptured, feasted, fed,
> would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself
> in one sole name combine,
> I name thee, O Sakuntala ! and all at
> once is said ".

Bana speaks of Kalidasa's poetry thus :—

> " निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
> प्रीतिर्मधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥ "

शूद्रक:—मृच्छकटिकम्. Sudraka who is placed in the first century A.D., is the author of मृच्छकटिकम्, a drama of the प्रकरण type in ten acts. There was an attempt by some critics to attribute this work to Dandin but that view could not be maintained

This drama has a sub-plot with a political theme. The first four acts of the play are practically the same as those of Bhasa's चारुदत्तम्. It seems शूद्रक took the four-act play of Bhasa and developed it into a full-fledged प्रकरण—type of drama by weaving a political theme into it wherein the clay-cart (मृच्छकटिक) incident plays an important part. The title of the play seems to have been chosen to suggest that the clay cart incident and the later developments of the plot alone are the contribution of Sudraka.

Mricchakatika is one of the few plays in Sanskrit which are suited for stage representation. Its style is sweet and simple. It is noted for the variety of characters and incidents and also for quick movements. The great popularity of this work is also due to the representation of topics and incidents that have a special appeal to all grades of men. It is said in the प्रस्तावना of the play thus :—

"अवन्तिपुर्यां द्विजसार्थवाहो युवा दरिद्रः किल चारुदत्तः ।
गुणानुरक्ता गणिका च यस्य वसन्तशोभेव वसन्तसेना ॥
तयोरिदं सत्सुरतोत्सवाश्रयं नयप्रचारं व्यवहारदुष्टताम् ।
खलस्वभावं भवितव्यतां तथा चकार सर्वं किल शूद्रको नृपः ॥"

The scenes describing gambling and the behaviour of gamblers, house-breaking and theft, policemen's search for the escaped convict, the trial of the hero in a law court for the charge of murdering the heroine falsely levelled by a villain etc., are very realistic and highly dramatic. The drama throws much light on the social and political state of the country during that period.

अश्वघोष:—शारीपुत्रप्रकरणं is a drama in 9 acts written by Asvaghosha, the author of Buddhacharitam of the 1st century A.D. It deals with the conversion of शारीपुत्र and another into Buddhism by बुद्ध. अश्वघोष is also the **author** of another play which is available only in frag**ments** and the title of the work is not known.

There is a verse handed down by tradtition which mentions four early authors who have written plays of the type known as भाण :—

वररुचिरीश्वरदत्तः श्यामलिकः शूद्रकश्च चत्वारः ।

एते भाणान् विदधुः का शक्तिः कालिदासस्य ।।

All these authors could be placed in the first two centuries of the christian era.

वररुचि is the author of the भाण, उभयाभिसारिका which describes some incidents in the lives of कुबेरदत्त and नारायणदत्त. The work contains references to the Nyaya and Sankhya systems of philosophy and also to the art of dancing.. ईश्वरदत्त is the author of the भाण called धूर्तविटसंवादः which deals with the ways of courtesans. It mentions दत्तक as an authority on कामशास्त्रम्. A भाण by name पादताडितकं is said to have been written by श्यामिलक

and the famous author of मृच्छकटिकं, शूद्रक is said to be author of a भाण also.

A very interesting प्रहसन belonging to the 1st or 2nd century A.D., is भगवदज्जुका said to have been written by one बोधायन whose identity is not known. This play along with another प्रहसन named मत्तविलासप्रहसनं is mentioned in an inscription, of महेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मा dated 610 A.D. An ascetic called भगवान् makes his soul enter into the dead body of a courtesan by name अज्जुका, by his yogic powers after directing his disciple शाण्डिल्य to guard his body well. The God of death finds that the time for Ajjuka's death has not yet come and directs his men to take her soul back to the earth and place it in her body. Finding that another soul has already entered her body they place her soul in the body of the भगवान्. Now the real fun starts. The courtesan begins to discourse on asceticism and philosophy while the भगवान् begins to talk about love and behaves like a courtsean to the utter amazement of his disciples.

वीणावासवदत्तम् of an unknown author is a play dealing with the imprisonment of उदयन and how वासवदत्ता got an opportunity to learn to play Veena from the prisoner. The work is incomplete breaking in the middle of the 4th act. The work must be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era when Udayana legends were very popular.

दिङ्नाग:—कुन्दमाला—Dingnaga is the author of a play called Kundamala in 6 acts which has the story of the Uttarakanda of Ramayana for its plot. The dramatist has introduced some important changes in the story

which have influenced the later dramatist भवभूति. The date of the author is not known but it cannot be fixed later than the 6th century A.D. It is also not known whether this दिङ्नाग, is the same as the Buddhist logician दिङ्नाग, the author of प्रमाणसमुच्चय। Some say that Kalidasa has referred to the poet दिङ्नाग in the line "दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्" and they conclude that he was a contemporary of Kalidasa. His style has the grace and simplicity of Kalidasa's style and hence he may not be far removed from कालिदास.

विशाखदत्तः—मुद्राराक्षम्. विशाखदत्त: is the author of a unique drama called मुद्राराक्षसम् which has a political theme. The efforts of Chanakya to establish चन्द्रगुप्त on the throne of the Nandas and to force राक्षस, the faithful minister of the Nandas to accept the ministership of Chandragupta are beautifully described in this work. The style of the author is vigorous and very appropriate to the theme. विशाखदत्त is unrivalled in the effective handling of a political theme.

The dramatist is quite familiar with the city of पाटलीपुत्रं (Kusumapura) in its prosperous state. During the visit of the chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in about 650 A.D. Pataliputra was in ruins. Therefore विशाखदत्त must have flourished before the 7th century A.D. Some scholars assign him to the IV century A.D., to the Gupta period while others take him to the 7th century A.D. Since Bana has not mentioned him, his probable date seems to be some where in the early 7th century A.D.

कौमुदीमहोत्सव is another play with a political theme describing how King Kalyanavarman regained his lost

Kingdom of मगध about 340 A.D. The author's name is not known but the work which bears traces of influence from Bhasa and Kalidasa can be assigned to the 4th century A.D.

हर्षवर्द्धनः—King Harshavardhana of the 7th century A.D., (606 to 648 A.D.,) is the author of three dramas—(1) प्रियदर्शिका (2) रत्नावली and (3) नागानन्दम्. The first two are written on the model of Kalidasa's मालविकाग्निमित्रं. Both of them are Natikas in four acts while नागानन्दं is a full-fledged नाटकं in five acts which beautifully represents the spirit of self-sacrifice of Jeemutavahana. The hero offers his life to गरुड in exchange for the life of a serpent. पितृशुश्रूषा, परोपकारः and अहिंसा are the ideals stressed in the work and the predominent sentiment is शान्त according to आनन्दवर्धन and अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यः. Nagananda is the masterpiece of Harsha in which critics see the author's leanings towards Buddism. In प्रियदर्शिका and रत्नावली love (शृङ्गार) is the predominent sentiment and the plots are taken from उदयन and वासवदत्ता legends. Harsha's style is simple and sweet.

Some critics say that these dramas might have been written by Bana or some other court poet and published in the name of the king who was a patron of poets. This view cannot be substantiated and maintained.

महेन्द्रविक्रम a king of the Pallava dynasty of the early 7th century A.D., is the author of a play called मत्तविलास-प्रहसनम्. In this work the author describes the city life of Kanchi. He makes fun of those who lead a degraded life under the garb of piety and asceticism.

शक्तिभद्र :, a Kerala poet of the 7th, century A.D., is the author of आश्चर्यचूडामणि:, a drama in seven acts dealing with the story of Ramayana. This work has many features that are common with the plays of Bhasa. शक्तिभद्र was perhaps the first author of Kerala who wrote a Sanskrit Drama. He also refers to another drama written by him called उन्मादवासवदत्ता which is now lost.

भट्टनारायण: —वेणीसंहारम् . Bhattanarayana is the author of Venisamharam, a famous drama in seven acts describing the great events of the Mahabharata war ending with the binding of Draupadi's braid of hairs by Bhimasena. This drama is the best among those which develop the sentiment of heroism and the Alankarikas have quoted freely from this work. The style of the author is quite suited for Vira Rasa. The drama suffers from the defects that are inevitable in a play where the plot, being too big for a drama, had to be compressed too much.

There is a tradition that Bhattanarayana was invited to Bengal to perform a sacrifice by king Adisura who lived in 650 A.D. वामन of the 8th century A.D., and आनन्दवर्धन of the 9th century A.D., have quoted from भट्टनारायण. Therefore he should have lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D.

भवभूति:—Bhavabhuti who was patronised by king Yasovarman of Kanauj of the early 8th century A.D., is the author of three plays—महावीरचरितम्, मालतीमाधवम् and उत्तररामचरितम्. Mahaviracharitam and Uttararamacharitam lare based on the Ramayana story while the plot of Maatimadhavam, which is a प्रकरण, is the poet's own

creation. The real name of भवभूति was श्रीकण्ठः. It is said he got the title भवभूति on account of that word occuring in a beautiful verse composed by him :—

" तपस्वी कां गतोऽवस्थामिति स्मेराननाविव ।
भगवत्याः स्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसितावनौ ॥ "

As the poet himself tells in the प्रस्तावना of मालतीमाधवम् he was a great scholar in the Vedas and Sastras. His plays were enacted during the festivals in the महाकाल temple of Ujjayini.

महावीरचरितम् was the first drama written by Bhavabhuti. It was criticised for being undramatic and then he wrote मालतीमाधवम् in ten acts depicting the love story of मालती and माधव. It is in the उत्तररामचरितम् the dramatist is found at his best. It is rightly said—" उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते ". It is even now considered a worthy rival to शाकुन्तलम्. भवभूति was inspired and influenced by कालिदास. While Kalidasa is unrivalled in describing the sentiment of love, Bhavabhuti excelled in developing the sentiment of करुण—" कारुण्यं भवभूतिरेव तनुते " Bhavabhuti hates fun and has not introduced विदूषक even in the love story of मालतीमाधवम्. He says in उत्तररामचरितम —"धिक्प्रहसनम् ".

The whole plot of मालतीमाधवं is Bhavabhuti's own creation while in उत्तररामचरितम, he has made many interesting innovations among which the most interesting and touching innovation is the scene in which राम and सीता are brought to the same place and सीता is made to see राम without being seen by him and personally experience the feelings of राम in her seperation. It is here

the dramatist has developed करुणरस to a climax. He also introduces a dramatic performance within the play as a device to restore Sita to राम and bring the play to a happy conclusion. The meeting of राम and his sons effected through the incident of stopping the sacrifical horse by लव and कुश is another innovation which has become so popular that many think it as the version of Valmiki himself.

अनङ्गहर्षः also known as मातराजः is the author of a beautiful play named तापसवत्सराजम्. आनन्दवर्धन of the 9th century A.D., quote from this work and hence the author has to be placed somewhere in the end of the 8th century A.D. This is also a play based on the popular उदयन-वासदत्ता legend.

कुलशेखरवर्म, a king of Kerala of the 8th century A.D., is the author of two dramas—सुभद्राधनञ्जयम् and तपतीसंवरणम्.

मुरारिः—अनर्घराघवम् of Murari is a popular Ramayana play in seven acts. मुरारि quotes from भवभूति and is referred to by रत्नाकर. Therefore he has to be assigned to the early part of the 9th century A.D. He was a great scholar in Sastras having undergone regular training under eminent Gurus. He proudly proclaims—"सारं तु सारस्वतं जानीते नितरामसौ गुरुकुलक्लिष्टो मुरारिः कविः". As a dramatist he lacks originality and his style, though highly artificial, is delightful for the learned. He possessed the title बालवाल्मीकिः

राजशेखरः of the late 9th century A.D., is the author of four dramas—कर्पूरमञ्जरी, विद्धसालभञ्जिका,

बालरामायणम् and बालभारतम. Except कर्पूरमञ्जरी the three other plays reveal very little originality. कर्पूरमञ्जरी deals with the marriage of prince चण्डपाल and the princess कर्पूरमञ्जरी in four acts. This play was written at the request of the author's wife अवन्तिसुन्दरी who was an accomplished woman. This play as well as the विद्धसालभञ्जिका, a love story, are modelled after the मालविकाग्निमित्रं of कालिदास. Rajasekhara's only merit as a dramatist is his graceful style. कर्पूरमञ्जरी has another unique feature of having been written completely in Prakrit.

क्षेमीश्वर: of the early 10th century A.D., is the author of चण्डकौशिकम्, a play in five acts dealing with the famous story of king हरिश्चन्द्र of the solar dynasty being tested by विश्वामित्र.

क्षेमेन्द्र of the 11th century A.D., an author of many works on various subjects, has written two dramas (1) कनकजानकी and (2) चित्रभारतम्.

बिल्हण of the 11th century A.D., is the author of a play of the नाटिका type called कर्णसुन्दरी.

दामोदरमिश्र: is the author of हनूमन्नाटकम् otherwise known as महानाटकम् in 14 acts. The date of the author is not known though he is assigned to the 11th century A.D. According to tradition, the original महानाटकं based on the life of Rama was written by हनूमान who later on threw his work into the sea thinking that it might eclipse the Ramayana of Valmiki. At the instance of King Bhoja of the 11th, century A.D., the fragments of the original were recovered and re-cast into the form of the present play in 14 Acts by दामोदरमिश्र।. There is also

another version of the drama in 10 acts by one मधुसूदन. The original must have been very old since आनन्दवर्धन of 9th, century A.D., refers to it.

प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयम् of कृष्णमिश्र of the 11th century A.D., is a unique drama in Sanskrit. It is an allegorical play representing the great war between विवेकः and महामोहः (intellect and ignorance). The war ends with the rise of the moon of प्रबोधः (knowledge). The author has successfully introduced abstract notions such as desire (कामः,) ego (अहंकारः), descrimination (विवेकः,) detachment (वैराग्यम्) etc., as characters in the drama and has made them behave like human beings in flesh and blood. The author's aim is to proclaim the greatness of अद्वैत philosophy.

वेदान्तदेशिकः of the late 13th century A.D., wrote a similar play called संकल्पसूर्योदयम् which proclaims the importance of the विशिष्टाद्वैत philosophy of रामानुजाचार्यः

[मोहमुद्गरं of यशःपाल a Jain author of the 13th century A.D., is also an imitation of प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयम्. There are a large number of such imitations from which a few may be mentioned.

चैतन्यचन्द्रोदयम् of कविकर्णपूरः of the 16th century A.D., propagates the Bhakti cult of Sri Krishna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Bengal

अमृतोदयम् of गोकुलनाथ of the 17th century A.D., and विद्यापरिणयम् of वेदकवि otherwise known as आनन्दरायमखी of the 18th century A D., also propagate Advaita philosophy.]

जयदेव of the 13th century A.D., is the author of प्रसन्नराघवम्, a drama in seven acts based on the Ramayana. This Jayadeva is different from the author of Gita-govindam. He is proficient in logic and is the author of the popular Alankara work चन्द्रालोकम्. He got the title पक्षधरमिश्र for his proficiency in logic and the title पीयूषवर्ष for his elegant lyrical verses in his drama प्रसन्नराघवं in which the major part of the story is covered by lyrical verses. He has made some interesting innovations in the story of Rama. बाणासुर and रावण are introduced as rivals for the hand of Sita and the river goddesses गङ्गा, यमुना, सरयू and गोदावरी are made to narrate a large part of the story through their conversation.

The best dramas in Sanskrit were written before the 12th century A.D. Though many dramas have been written by later authors, they are much inferior in quality and most of them are mere imitations of the earlier ones. काञ्चनाचार्य of the 12th, century A.D., is the author of a व्यायोग called धनञ्जयविजयम् dealing with the victory of अर्जुन over the Kauravas when they attempted to lift the cattle of विराट ।.

रामचन्द्रसूरि a pupil of हेमचन्द्र of the 12th, century A.D., is the author of a hundred works in which are included नलविलासः, a drama in seven acts; सत्यहरिश्चन्द्र a play in six acts; and कौमुदीमित्रानन्दम्, a प्रकरणं in 10 acts. While the first two are based on the Puranic stories of नल-दमयन्ती and king हरिश्चन्द्र, the third is a fiction with मित्रानन्द, a merchant as hero and कौमुदी as the heroine.

वत्सराज of the 12th, century A.D., has written four plays belonging to different types of रूपक (1) त्रिपुरदाह a

डिम based on the Puranic story of destruction of the three cities of the demons by शिव : (2) समुद्रमथनम् a समवकार ; (3) रुग्मिणीहरणम् . an ईहामृग and (4) हास्यचूडामणि a प्रहसनम्.

जयसिंहसूरि. a Jain priest of the 12th. century A.D., is the author of हिम्मीरमदमर्दनम्, a drama describing the defeat of हिम्मीर. a Muhammadan king by वस्तुपाल, a king of Gujarat. सुभट is the author of a one act play called दूताङ्गदम् dealing with Angada's mission to रावण. रविवर्मा, a Kerala prince of the 13th. century A.D., is the author of a play in five acts entitled प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयम्.

विद्यानाथ of the 14th, century A.D., has written a drama in 5 acts called प्रतापरुद्रकल्याणं which metaphorically describes the accession of prince प्रतापरुद्र of Warrangal to the throne. This work is included in the Alankara work of the same author called प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणं for illustrating the rules of dramaturgy. विश्वनाथ, a contemporary of विद्यानाथ wrote a व्यायोग called सौगन्धिकाहरणं, an episode from महाभारत describing the adventure of भीम to fetch the divine flower सौगन्धिका उन्मत्तराघवम् by one भास्कर who probably belonged to the 14th century A.D., is a one act play of the उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क, type describing the sad plight of राम who goes mad at the separation of Sita.

वामनभट्टबाण, the author of वेमभूपालचरितं who belonged to the 15th, century A.D., has written a drama called पार्वतीपरिणयं which describes Siva's wedding with पार्वती. The author is much indebted to Kalidasa's कुमारसम्भवम् । उद्दण्डकवि who was patronised by the Zamorian of Calicut in the 15th, century A.D. is the author of a प्रकरणं called मल्लिकामारुतं on the model of मालतीमाधवं of भवभूति ।.

शेषकृष्ण of the 16th century A.D., wrote a drama in 6 acts called कंसवधः। रूपगोस्वामी a devotee of श्रीकृष्ण-चैतन्य has written two plays—विदग्धमाधवम् and ललितमाधवम्, both connected with the mystic love of राधा and कृष्ण. The author belonged to the 16th, century A D.

राजचूडामणिदीक्षितः of the 17th century A.D , is the author of the नाटिका called कमलिनीकलहंस in four acts on the model of रत्नावली। नीलकण्ठदीक्षित of the same period, an author of many works, has written a drama by name नलचरितम्. वेङ्कटाध्वरि of the same period, has written a play called प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयं dealing with the marriage of रति with प्रद्युम्न, an incarnation of मन्मथ, as the son of कृष्ण.

जानकीपरिणयं of रामभद्रदीक्षित who belonged to the later part of the 17th century A,D., is a popular drama in which the author has introduced many innovations and comic situations. He has made विद्युज्जिह्व, रावण, सारण and ताटका appear as विश्वामित्र, राम, लक्ष्मण and सीता in the आश्रम of विश्वामित्र and create a lot of fun by mistaken identity. शूर्पणखा approaches भरत in the guise of an ascetic and tries to cause his death by reporting that Rāma is dead. The mischief is found out and the play ends with the coronation of राम in Ayodhya.

Types of Sanskrit Drama

Dramatic works in Sanskrit are called by the general term रूपकम since they are to be represented visibly on the stage. Bharata classifies dramas into ten major types and he also mentions one minor type called नाटिका. Later

Alankarikas give a list of 10 minor types also. The major types are :—

"नाटकं सप्रकरणं भाणः, प्रहसनं, डिमः ।
व्यायोगसमवकारौ, वीथ्यङ्केहामृगा दश ॥"

These ten types of Rupakas vary in their length, the nature of the plot, the hero, heroine, the predominent sentiment developed etc. While वीथी, भाणः and अङ्क or उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क are one act plays a नाटक or प्रकरण, the most developed forms of the Rupakas, may extend from five to ten acts. डिम, व्यायोग, समवकार, ईहामृग and प्रहसन may have one to four acts. Among the Uparupaks (minor types) नाटिका and सट्टकं with four acts are very popular. The student may refer to साहित्यदर्पणम् or दशरूपकं for details about the Rupakas and Uparupakas.

Some Characteristics of Sanskrit Drama

A Sanskrit drama is a mixed composition in which joy is mingled with sorrow. Emotions like terror, grief, pity etc., are developed but they are always tranquilised by the happy ending of the play. Death, battle, banishment. murder etc., are not allowed to be represented on the stage. (Bhasa's Urubhangam is an exception to this rule). In the midst of prose dialogue lyric stanzas are introduced, sometimes in large numbers. Some characters speak Sanskrit while others speak Prakrita dialects. Scenes which are considered to be vulgar such as eating, sleeping etc., are prohibited on the stage.

Nature occupies an important place in Sanskrit Drama. Trees, creepers, flowers. plants, deer, swans,

parrots, rivers, streams and hills among which the characters move form an essential part of their life.

Most of the Sanskrit dramas draw their plot from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, the Puranas and legends. The authors do not invent original plots but are satisfied by borrowing the plots from the epics and modifying them to suit their purpose. They show great skill in arranging the incidents of the plot and in the portrayal of characters.

Tragedy in the true sense of the term is totally absent in Sanskrit though tragic situations have been developed with great skill. This is mainly due to the influence of Hindu ethics according to which virtue must triumph ultimately. Though the great epics—रामायणं and महाभारतम्—which form the source of many Sanskrit dramas, have a sorrowful ending, the stories are changed to have a happy ending when they are dramatised.

Every Sanskrit drama begins with a नान्दी (prayer) which is followed by a प्रस्तावना (prelude) conducted by the stage manager. Usually the names of the author and work are mentioned here. Unities of time and place are not generally observed in Sanskrit plays but continuity of time and place in different acts is secured by the device of interludes called विष्कम्भक and प्रवेशक. Unity of action is strictly observed and the introduction of any scene or character not directly contributing to the development of the plot or sentiment is strongly condemned.

Of the three main elements in a Drama, *viz.* वस्तु, नेता and, रस (plot, hero and the sentiment) more

importance is given to the sentiment in a Sanskrit Drama. All the rules laid down by Bharata in his नाट्यशास्त्र are to help in the development of the रस which is the life of नाट्यम्.

Alankara Sastra—Theories of Poetry and Drama

With the growth and development of the various forms of literature such as poetry, prose, Champu, drama etc., the need to classify and evaluate them naturally arose. The critics who studied and compared these works could discover merits and defects and they began to advise the poets by pointing out the faults and merits and laying down certain rules for composing good poetry. They also began to classify the works into various types taking into account the nature of the plot, sentiment, the form such as prose, verse or mixed, as well as the subject matter. This gave rise to the origin of Alankara Sastram (theories of poetry and drama). The chief topics dealt with in the Alankara sastra are the definition and classification of poetry, drama, prose etc., the figures of speech, the sentiments, the types of characters, literary merits and defects, style and such other matters concerning literature.

There are different schools of thought in the field of Alankara Sastra, each school approaching the subject from a different point of view. The main point of discussion is what constitutes the essence of poetry and what are the means to achieve it? The results of such discussions are varied and they form the different schools of theory on poetry and drama. Some hold Rasa (sentiment) as the soul of poetry and drama: Others

consider रीति as the soul of poetry. Some others attach greater importance to figures of speech (Alankaras) and they say figurative expression is the soul of poetry. In the course of several centuries there arose eight main schools of theories of poetry which are—(1) रसः, (2) अलङ्कारः, (3) गुणः (4) रीतिः, (5) ध्वनिः, (6) अनुमानम्, (7) वक्रोक्तिः and (8) औचित्यम्

भरत in his Natyasastram expounded the theory of Rasa and he was followed by उद्भटः, रुद्रटः भट्टलोल्लटः, श्रीशङ्कुकः भट्टनायकः and अभिनवगुप्तः who have written commentaries on नाट्यशास्त्रम्. भामह, दण्डी and वामन are the exponents of the अलङ्कार, गुण and रीति schools respectively. आनन्दवर्धन expounded the ध्वनि theory which was criticised by महिमभट्ट who brought ध्वनि within the scope of अनुमान. मम्मटभट्ट in his काव्यप्रकाश refuted the arguments of महिमभट्ट and re-established the ध्वनि theory. कुन्तकः was the exponent of वक्रोक्ति theory while क्षेमेन्द्रः expounded the औचित्य theory which was earlier briefly dealt with by आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यः

नाट्यशास्त्रं of Bharata is the earliest work on Alankara now preserved. पाणिनि refers to one शिलालि, the author of नटसूत्रम् but we know nothing about that author or his work except Panini's reference. अग्निपुराणं contains some chapters on Alankara but it is a work of uncertain date and most probably the chapters dealing with Alankarasastra were included in the Purana at a later date which may be somewhere in the 9th century A.D.

The date of Bharata is not quite certain, but he is mentioned by Kalidasa by name and Kalidasa also supports his view that a dramatic performance is equal to the performance of a vedic sacrifice —Vide :—

"देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयः कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषम् ।"

"मुनिना भरतेन यः प्रयोगो भवतीष्वष्टरसाश्रयो निबद्धः ॥"

नाट्यशास्त्रं mentions only four Alankaras—उपमा, रूपकं, दीपकं and यमकम् while Dandin and Bhamaha of about the 7th century A.D., define and illustrate many Alankaras. Bhamaha starts with a list of five Alankaras and then adds further lists as defined and illustrated by others. Dandin enumerates 32 Alankaras, each having a number of sub-divisions. So many centuries must have intervened between भरत and Dandin. Being earlier than Kalidasa, भरत has to be assigned to a date not later than 2nd century B.C.

The text of नाट्यशास्त्रं is now available in 36 chapters. In some editions the last chapter is divided into two and hence there are 37 chapters. The main body of the work is in the form of verses but there are sections in prose of the सूत्र style. Chapters six and seven which deal with Rasas and Bhavas are mostly in the form of Sutras. The work deals with the origin of नाट्य (dance, music and drama) its defenition, its purpose, the construction of theatre, stage arrangements, rules of writing and staging dramas, make up of characters, speech, gestures, poses of dance (अङ्गहार), dramatic conventions (नाट्यधर्मी) sentiments, emotions (रस and भाव), styles of acting (कैशिक्यादिवृत्तयः), dance, music (नृत्तं, सङ्गीतं), defects, merits and figures of speech, etc., in a most authoritative manner. The plays (रूपकाणि) are classified into ten types according to the nature of the plot, hero and the (sentiment वस्तु नेता and रस).

Bharata attaches great importance for रस and भाव in नाट्यम्. रस or sentiment is the condition produced in a spectator which is a single feeling essentially pleasant. It is classified into eight or nine classes, according to the nature of the emotion (स्थायीभाव:) by which it is excited. Thus the sentiment of भयानकरस (fear) is a condition of joy while भय is quite the reverse. नाट्यशास्त्र enumerates nine sentiments (eight according to those who exclude शान्त), nine स्थायीभावा: (dominant emotions) and thirtythree व्यभिचरिभावा: (transiant emotions). The sentiments are excited by the विभावा: (material causes), अनुभावा: (the effects) सात्विकभावा: (external manifestation of the emotion, and the व्यभिचारी भावा: (transient emotions) brought together "विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्ति:." भरत does not say clearly whether रस is suggested or expressed or inferred or experienced in some other way. The commentators of नाट्यशास्त्र hold different views on this matter which will be shown later. Ten दोषा: ten गुणा: and four अलङ्कारा: are mentioned in नाट्यशास्त्र pertaining to वाचिकाभिनय. Gunas and Alankaras are treated only as aids for exciting रस which is the soul of नाट्यम्।

भामहः and दण्डी—After the नाट्यशास्त्रं of Bharata the earliest Alankara works preserved are the काव्यादर्श: of Dandin and the काव्यालंकार: of Bhamaha. Bhamaha refers to some earlier authors and works but we have no information about them. It is very difficult to decide the relative priority of Bhamaha and Dandin. They do not refer to each other but attack each other's views. Bhamaha's classification of prose works into two types called कथा and आख्यायिका is criticised by Dandin while भामह laughs at the classification of style into वैदर्भी and गौडी which Dandin has accepted. It is possible that

both of them lived at the same period and both dealt with theories current in their time. Most probably both of them belonged to the 7th century A.D.

During the seven or eight centuries between भरत and the authors of काव्यादर्श and काव्यालङ्कार, there must have existed some Alankarikas holding different views on the definition, classification and merits of poetry and prose works. Dandin and Bhamaha must have followed two different schools that existed then. It is certain that they have not followed भरत since they deal only with matters concerning श्रव्यकाव्यं and not with those of दृश्यकाव्यम्.

Bhamaha stresses the importance of Alankaras and brings all Alankaras under the general term वक्रोक्ति— "वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिः इष्टा वाचामलंकृतिः". He further says that वक्रोक्ति (hyperbole) lies at the bottom of all poetic expression. He mentions just three Gunas but does not make a clear distinction between Gunas and Alankaras. Though Bhamaha belongs to the Alankara school, he may be said to be the originator of the वक्रोक्ति school which was later on expounded by Kuntaka. Bhamaha's काव्यालङ्कारः is popularly known as भामहालंकारः to which उद्भट wrote a commentary called विवरणम् which is now lost.

Dandin in his काव्यादर्श has defined and classified Kavyas more elaborately than Bhamaha. He defines and illustrates ten Gunas which are said to be the life-breath of वैदर्भी style "इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणाः दशगुणाः स्मृताः" He does not make a distinction between Alankaras and Gunas. He stresses importance of Alankara by the bringing

everything that beautifies the Kavya under the general term Alankara—"काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलंकारान् प्रचक्षते." Even the sentiments are brought under Alankaras, but he seems to give a little more importance to the Gunas and also to मार्ग or रीति by saying that the ten Gunas are the life breath of वैदर्भमार्गः. The Riti school which was later on expounded by वामन had its origin here. While Bhamaha does not recognise स्वभावोक्ति as an Alankara, Dandin recognises it and gives a fine definition of स्वभावोक्ति which gives it a high place among the Alankaras. Dandin can be considered as the exponent of the Guna school though he has just given a start to the Riti school and has accepted the important place of Alankaras in Kavyas.

काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः of वामन—Vamana was patronised by king Jayapida of Kashmir in the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He has written his काव्यालङ्कारः in the Sutra style and has provided his own commentary for the Sutras called वृत्तिः. His treatment of the subject अलङ्कारशास्त्रं is more scientific than that of Dandin or Bhamaha. Dandin just mentioned that a sentance (a proper arrangement of words—पदावली) conveying a delightful idea constitute the body of poetry and the ten Gunas are the lifebreath (प्राणाः) of the वैदर्भमार्ग. वामन went a step further and assigned definite places to गुण, रीति, अलंकार etc. According to him the word and sense together constitute the body of poetry, रीति is the soul (आत्मा), the Gunas provide beauty to Kavya and the Alankaras enhance the beauty—रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य। काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्माः गुणाः, तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्काराः। While Dandin included Rasas in the Alankaras Vamana included them in the Gunas which are considered to be more

important than Alankaras. He deals with ten Gunas of sound, ten gunas of sense, poetic faults --काव्यदोषाः, three Ritis—वैदर्भी, गौडी and पाञ्चाली and also Alankaras. He established the रीति theory on sound principles, yet he also seems to stress the importance of Alankara by the broad definition he gives to it—"सौन्दर्यमलंकारः" and by saying that kavya becomes acceptable on account of Alankaras—"काव्यं ग्राह्यमलंकारात्". Strictly speaking भामह, दण्डी and वामन are the exponents of the Alankara school bringing रीति and गुण under the broad definition of Alankara.

उद्भटः a contemporary of वामन in late 8th and the early 9th century A.D., is the author of काव्यालङ्कारसारसंग्रहः also called उद्भटालंकारः। He calls the style by the name वृत्ति and classifies it into three types – परुषा, उपनागरिका and ग्राम्या. He stresses the importance of रस in poetry and recognises शान्तरस. He wrote a commentary on Bhamahalankara and is supposed to have written a commentary on Bharata's Natyasastra also but those commentaries are now lost. After भरत, the first man to recognise the importance of रस is उद्भट.

रुद्रटः, a Kashmirian critic of the early 9th century A.D., is the author of an Alankara work called काव्यालंकारः। Like उद्भट he also followed Natyasastra and stressed the importance of रस. Thus both उद्भट and रुद्रट can be treated as the followers of Rasa school. To the three Ritis of Vamana he adds one more, the लाटी.

ध्वन्यालोकः of आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यः

Aandavardhana is an author of great importance in the field of Alankara literature. He is the first exponent

of a new doctrine known as the ध्वनि theory. He lived in the court of King Avantivarman of Kashmir in the middle of the 9th century A.D.

The Dhvani theory is briefly expounded in about 120 verses called ध्वनि Karikas and आनन्दवर्धनः has written an elaborate commentary (वृत्ति) to those Karikas called. आलोकः. Both together is known by the name ध्वन्यालोकः and it is quite probable that आनन्दवर्धन is the author of both. Some of course assert that the Karikas were written by someone else who may be called ध्वनिकारः as his real name is not known.

According to , आन्दवर्धन, the suggested sense, ध्वनि, is the soul of poetry—" काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः । The Gunas, Alankaras, Vritti, Riti etc., are all subordinated to Dhvani. The suggested sense may be an idea (वस्तु), Alankara or Rasa. Ultimately रसध्वनिः (Sentiment that is always suggested and not expressed) is the soul and all other literary aspects help in the development of the suggested Rasa. Almost all critics of the later period (except one or two) have accepted the ध्वनि theory. Having stressed the importance of रसध्वनि, आनन्दवर्धन speaks about the necessity to observe propriety in the use of words, puns Alankaras, long compounds etc., and औचित्यं as he calls it, is the essence of रस.. He says :—

" अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥ "

Later on क्षेमेन्द्र developed औचित्यं as a separate theory in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा ।

By saying that रसध्वनि is the most important in a Kavya or Drama, Anandavardhana was only supporting the रस theory of नाट्यशास्त्र after pointing out that Rasa is always suggested and not expressed. Among the exponents of the doctrine of रस before and after आनन्दवर्धन, views differed as to how रस is excited and enjoyed by the spectator or reader. भट्टलोल्लट of about the 7th, century A.D., who wrote a commentary to नाट्यशास्त्र which is now lost, but whose views have been summarised or quoted by later writers like अभिनवगुप्त, मम्मट and others held the view, like Dandin, that the expressed Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Sancharibhāvas develop the स्थायीभाव into रस which is appreciated—रतिः शृङ्गारतां गतः । श्रीशङ्कुक of about 9th, century A.D., who also wrote a commentary on नाट्यशास्त्र (which too is now lost) brought रसास्वाद or the experience of sentiment which is always pleasant under poetic inference (काव्यानुमानम्) as different from the inference of the logicians (अन्यानुमानविलक्षणम्).

According to आनन्दवर्धन, रस is suggested and never expressed. The Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Vyabhicharibhāvas described in a काव्यं or presented in a dramatic performance, being read or observed and relished by a सहृदय excite the sentiment in the reader or the spectator by their suggestive power known as ध्वनि or व्यञ्जनाव्यापार. He has pointed out that रस is the most important aspect not only of the Drama, dance and music, but also of काव्यम्.

भट्टनायकः of the 10th century A.D., wrote a commentary on नाट्यशास्त्र called हृदयदर्पणम् which is now lost. He has strongly criticised the ध्वनि theory and in turn has been criticised by अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यः of the 11th century A.D., भट्टनायक expounded a new theory of रसास्वाद by assigning

three functions (व्यापार) to each poetic expression, namely —(1) अभिधा, (2) भावना or भावकत्वं and (3) भोजकत्वम्. By Bhavakatvam the expressed ideas are generalised or universalised and they are enjoyed by the function of भोजकत्वम् ।. अभिनवगुप्त vehimently criticises the acceptance of two functions—भावकत्वं and भोजकत्वं while one function called व्यञ्जना would suffice.

राजशेखर: of the 10th century A.D., is the author of a great Alankara work called काव्यमीमांसा. He refers to various authors and his remarks on the merits of those authors are very apt and interesting. He has also quoted in his work many traditional sayings about poets.

धनञ्जय of the 10th century A.D., is the author of दशरूपकम्, a good text book on dramaturgy. He is a popular author, often quoted by commentators on matters concerning the types of dramas, heroes, heroines etc.

धनिक: the brother of धनञ्जय has written an elaborate commentary on दशरूपकम्.

अभिनवगुप्ताचार्य:, a Kashmirian poet, critic and philosopher of the 11th century A.D., has written exhaustive commentaries on the नाटचशास्त्रं of भरत called अभिनवभारती and on the ध्वन्यालोक of आनन्दवर्धन called लोचनम्. In both the commentaries अभिनवगुप्त has quoted भट्टनायक in many places and has strongly criticised his view. अभिनवगुप्त is a great Alankarika who has been accepted as an authority in the theories of Rasa and Dhvani in explaining the famous रससूत्रं of Bharata and also in matters of Dramaturgy and principles of poetry. He has established the

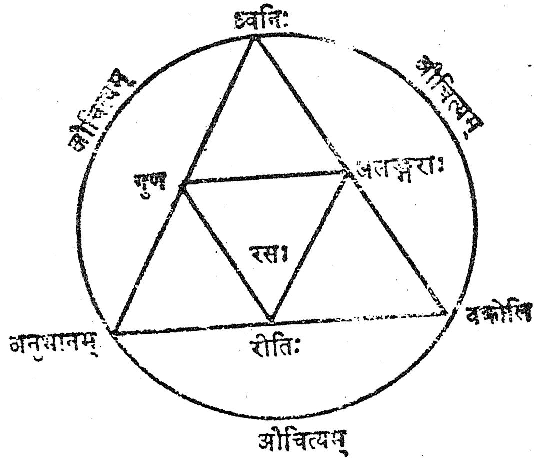
ध्वनि theory in his ध्वन्यालोकलोचनं after refuting the arguments of भट्टनायक and others. His अभिनवभारती is a monumental work of considerable importance in the field of dramaturgy and the expositions of the रस doctrine.

महिमभट्ट: of the 11th century A.D., is the author of an interesting work called व्यक्तिविवेक: in which he has vehemently attacked the ध्वनि theory of आनन्दवर्धन. He is the most destructive critic of the ध्वनि theory. He reduces ध्वनि to the pattern of अनुमानम्. He has no followers and his arguments against ध्वनि have been effectively countered by the great मम्मट in his Kavyaprakasa.

कुन्तक: of the 11th century A.D., is the author of वक्रोक्तिजीवितम् in which he expounds in detail the वक्रोक्ति school which was just hinted by भामह. According to him वक्रोक्ति:, figurative expression, is the soul of poetry. This theory attaches great importance to Alankaras. He does not recognise स्वभावोक्ति as an अलंकार:. He does not also recognise ध्वनि. The beauty of poetry lies in the figurative expression and not in ध्वनि or रस according to कुन्तक।

भोज: of the 11th century A.D., is the author of a huge Alankara work called शृङ्गारप्रकाश:. This work which mainly deals with Rasas, considers शृङ्गार as the most important among the Rasas—"शृङ्गारमेव रसनाद्रसमामनाम:" The शृङ्गार as defined and illustrated by भोज is not the mere erotic sentiment. It is something more sublime and subjective. भोज has also written another Alankara work called सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम्.

क्षेमेन्द्रः of the 11th century A.D., is the author of two Alankara works—(1) औचित्यविचारचर्चा and (2) कवि-कण्ठाभरणम् । In his Auchitya Vichara Charcha he has developed the theory of औचित्यं (propriety) as an essential factor in the development of Rasas. After क्षेमेन्द्र no new theory was expounded in the Alankara Sastra. The eight theories so far expounded can be put in a diagram which would show at a glance the mutual relationship and the respective places of the theories in the general scheme of poetics ;—



मम्मटभट्टः of the early 12th century A.D., is the author of the famous authoritative work काव्यप्रकाशः which in ten chapters, deals with all topics in the field of अलंकारशास्त्रं except dramaturgy. It is said that मम्मट wrote up to परिकरालङ्कार only and the work was completed by one अल्लट of the same period. The काव्यप्रकाश is in the form

of Karikas and Vritti written by the same author. मम्मट re-established the ध्वनि theory after refuting the arguments of महिमभट्ट. The popularity and importance of काव्यप्रकाश can be inferred from the large number of commentaries on it written by eminent scholars. It is said that the Title महामहोपाध्याय: was conferred on those who wrote commentaries on it. मम्मट is probably the first अलङ्कारिका to analyse and express in a beautiful way the benefits derived by writing and reading काव्यम् :—

काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।

सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुते ॥

राजानकरुय्यकः of the 12th century A.D., is the author of a standard Alankara work called अलङ्कारसर्वस्वम्. He deals with Alankaras very elaborately after summarising the earlier schools. After मम्मट almost all Alankarikas accepted the ध्वनि doctrine and रुय्यक was no exception. It may be said that the decline of Alankara literature began in the twelth century A.D., as in the case of all other branches of Sanskrit literature.

हेमचन्द्रः A Jain author of the 12th century A.D.' is the author of an Alankara work called काव्यानुशासनम् and वाग्भटः of the same period has written an Alankara work called वाग्भटालङ्कारः.

रामचन्द्रः of the early 12th century A D., is the author of नाटयदर्पणम्, a standard work on dramaturgy.

जयदेवः of the 13th century A.D., is the author of चन्द्रालोकः, a popular Alankara work. The अर्थालंकार section of this work is noted for the simplicity of the definitions

and illustrations. This Jayadeva is different from the author of गीतगोविन्दम् but seems to be identical with the author of the drama—प्रसन्नराघवम्.

शारदातनयः of the 13th century A.D., is the author of भावप्रकाशनम्, a work on dramaturgy of extra ordinary merit. He follows Bharata and deals with the Rasa theory in detail. Singabhupala's रसार्णवसुधाकरः is another important work on dramaturgy. He flourished in the 14th century A.D.

विद्यानाथः of the early 14th century A.D., is the author of a good text dealing with all topics coming under Alankarasastra. The book entitled प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषणम् is also known by the shorter name प्रतापरुद्रीयम्. The author was patronised by वीररुद्र of the Kakatiya dynasty and all the verses in this work were composed by the author praising his patron. He is also the author of बालभारतम्, a महाकाव्य in 20 Cantos.

साहित्यदर्पणम् of विश्वनाथ of the 14th century A.D., is a great Alankara work dealing elaborately with all points concerning poetics and dramaturgy. This is one of the most popular Alankara works on account of its exhaustive treatment of the subject. As illustrations the author has quoted from many famous authors.

अप्पय्यदीक्षितः of the 16th century A.D., is the author of two Alankara works—(1) the popular कुवलयानन्दम् and (2) चित्रमीमांसा. In कुवलयानन्दं he has taken the simple definitions and illustrations of Jayadeva's चन्द्रालोकम् and has improved upon them by suitable amendments and additions. He has also written his own वृत्ति on the

Karikas which has given added importance and popularity to the work. चित्रमीमांसा is a scholarly work elevating साहित्यं to the status of a Sastra by introducing discussions and scientific treatment of the subject. This work was later on severely criticised by Jagannatha Pandita as if due to some personal grudge.

रसगङ्गाधर of जगन्नाथपण्डित is perhaps the last major Alankara work dealing with ध्वनि, रस, Gunas and Alankaras in a scientific manner. After काव्यप्रकाश this is perhaps the major Alankara work which has made some original contribution to साहित्यशास्त्रम्. This work is usually studied for the attainment of advanced scholarship in अलङ्कारशास्त्रम्.

जगन्नाथपण्डित was a native of Andhra but he was entertained in the court of Shah Jahan and was honoured with the title of "पण्डितराजः". He belonged to the 17th century A.D.

There are many more works on Alankara, a complete list of which cannot be given here. Mention may be made of a few works like the एकावली of विद्याधर Bhanudatta's रसमञ्जरी of the 14th century A.D., अलंकारशेखर of केशवमिश्रः and काव्यप्रदीपः of Govinda Takkur of the 16th century A,D., and काव्यदर्पण of राजचूडामणिदीक्षितः and उज्वलनीलमणिः of रूपगोस्वामी of the early 17th century A.D.

V. Scientific Literature—शास्त्राणि

The word शास्त्रं was originally applied to the various subjects of study connected with the Vedic religion and philosophy. The fourteen traditionally recognised branches of learning—viz :—

"अङ्गानि (षट्) वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्याहेताश्चतुर्दश" ॥

Along with the four secondary Vedas (उपवेदाः)—viz. गान्धर्ववेदः, आयुर्वेदः, धनुर्वेदः and अर्थशास्त्रम् were recognised as Sastras—i.e., the means for acquiring correct knowledge. Later on the term शास्त्रम् was used to denote any branch of study that was treated on a scientific basis.

Most of the Sastras came into existence in the Sutra period as suppliments and aids to the study and understanding of the Vedas. The original Sutras being brief and enigmatic required critical and elaborate expositions by eminent preceptors and that gave rise to the Bhashyas and Vartikas or Vrittis. These were again subjected to further critical examination and discussions and thus there came into being a vast literature in each of the Sastras. In view of the limited scope of this work, we give below only a brief survey of the development of the various Sastras by just mentioning the name of the most prominent works and authors in each branch.

Music—गान्धर्ववेदः, अथवा संगीतशास्त्रम्

Music had its origin in सामवेद and it was treated later on as an उपवेदः. The rules for the musical chant of the stanzas of the सामवेद are given in the song books called Ganas. The seven Swaras of the classical music are said to have been developed from the three Vedic accents (स्वराः):

"उदात्ते निशादगान्धारौ अनुदात्ते ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवाह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः" ॥

संगीतं consists of vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing. Natya Sastra says that the creator took music from सामवेद and gestures from यजुर्वेद while creating the fifth वेदः called नाट्यवेदः—

"सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।

यजुर्वेदादभिनयान्" ॥

Bharata's नाट्यशास्त्रं is perhaps the earliest work which authoritatively deals with music along with dance and drama. Tantras which were composed when sectarian form of worship came into prominance contain portions dealing with music. यामलाष्टकतन्त्रं deals with music to some extent and gives a list of topics that are dealt with in गान्धर्ववेद. Another तन्त्र work called उड्डीशामहोदयं describes 16 musical instruments elaborately in sixteen chapters. कोहल, a pupil of Bharata is said to have written a work on music of which only the तालाध्याय is now available. नन्दी is said to have composed a work called भरतार्णवः which is available only in fragments. Dattila, a disciple of Bharata is said to have written a treatise on music and dancing which is now lost. Some of the Puranas also contain accounts on music and dancing.

शार्ङ्गदेव of the 12th century A.D., is the author of the well-known and most popular treatise on music called संगीतरत्नाकरः in seven chapters. His treatment of the subject is original and comprehensive. He has recorded the theory and practice of music of his time but they have now undergone vast changes.

नान्यदेवः of the late 12th century A.D., is the author of सरस्वतीहृदयालंकारहारः in which he deals with the rules of Ragas.

सोमेश्वरः of भूलोकमल्लः of the 12th century A.D., is the author of मानसोल्लासः, which deals with music and musical instruments. "He devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian Music took the appellation of कर्णाटक, the land over which he ruled."

A large number of books were written by later writers after the Indian music was split into two branches —the North Indian and the South Indian or Karnatic music. Mention may be made of संगीतचिन्तामणि of वेमभूपालः the Reddy prince of the early 15th century A.D., and the स्वरमेलकलानिधिः of रामामात्यः of the 16th century A.D., both dealing with Karnatic music. The North Indian music was enriched by the works like the नर्तननिर्णयः, रागमाला, रागमञ्जरी and षड्रागचन्द्रिका of पुण्डरीकविट्ठल of the 16th century A.D., and the संगीतसारसंग्रहः of Jagajjyotirmalla, King of Nepal of 17th century A.D.

Kamasastra—कामशास्त्रम्

(*Erotics*)

Kamasastram which treats erotics in a comprehensive manner is an important branch of literature which has greatly influenced and inspired Sanskrit poets particularly the dramatists. Since it deals with the various types of heroes and heroines, their characteristics. the different stages of love, the behaviour of a नागरिक etc., in a

scientific manner it can be treated as a branch related to Alankara Sastra, though traditionally it is treated under the वाजीकरण section of Ayurveda. काम or the enjoyment of pleasure is rightly regarded as an aim of life (पुरुषार्थ) along with धर्म and अर्थ. Lord कृष्ण says in भगवद्गीता "धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ" and वात्स्यायन begins his great work with the सूत्र—"नमो धर्मार्थकामेभ्यः". It is said that the creator himself composed the first treatise on कामशास्त्र along with धर्म and अर्थ Sastras.

The earliest work on कामशास्त्र now preserved is the कामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन which, in seven chapters, deals with all aspects of love in a frank and scientific manner. वात्स्यायन whose real name was मल्लनाग and who was a physician by profession, is assigned to the 2nd century A.D., though it will be more correct to place him before Kalidasa in the 2nd century B.C. He refers to some of his predecessors such as बाभ्रव्यः, गोनर्दीयः, चारायणः, दत्तकः etc., but their works are now lost. माधववर्मन् of the 4th century A.D., is said to have written a वृत्ति to Dathaka's work known as दत्तकसूत्रम or दत्तकतन्त्रम्। यशोधरः of the 13th century A.D., has written the most popular भाष्यं called जयमंगला to the famous Sutras of Vatsyayana.

कक्कोकः of the 12th century A.D., is the author of रतिरहस्यम् which is a lucid summary of the Kamasutras. This work is often quoted by the commentators of Kavyas.

रतिमञ्जरी of जयदेवः, रतिरत्नप्रदीपिका of इम्माडि प्रौढदेवरायः of 15th century A.D., and अनंगरङ्गः of कल्याणमल्लः of the 16th century A,D., are some of the later works on कामशास्त्रम्.

Prosody—छन्दः शास्त्रम्

We have already dealt with छन्दस् briefly as a वेदाङ्गम्. The Rig Pratisakhya and the Nidana Sutras of Samaveda contain the early stages of prosody concerning the Vedic metres. During the classical period which began with the composition of Ramayana, the number and variety of metres used in Kavyas and dramas increased considerably and there was a need for detailed treatment of classical metres. *Bharata* in his *Natyasastra* deals with छन्दस् in two chapters.

The छन्दस्सूत्रम् of पिङ्गल is perhaps the earliest of the available works on classical metres, though the work briefly deals with the Vedic metres also. It is not possible to fix the date of Pingala but he must have lived long before Kalidasa.

श्रुतबोधः, a work dealing with classical metres comprehensively is attributed to कालिदास, but the true author seems to be some one else. The date of the works is not known but it must belong to the early period of the christian era.

The बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर, the great astronomer of the 6th century A.D., contains a chapter on metres. सुवृत्ततिलकम् of क्षेमेन्द्रः and छन्दोऽनुशासनम् of हेमचन्द्र are two other works on prosody belonging to the 11th and 12th century A.D., respectively.

केदारभट्ट of the 15th century A.D., is the author of the most popular treatise on classical metres called वृत्तरत्नाकरः। This deals comprehensively with all metres

and the definitions of metres are given in the respective metres so that there is no need to give separate illustrations. This is one of the reasons for the great popularity of this work.

There are a large number of works on metre of which mention may be made of छन्दोमञ्जरी of गङ्गादास of the 15th century A.D., and वाणीभूषणं of दामोदरमिश्र of the 16th century A.D.

Lexicography—कोशग्रन्थाः

The origin of lexicon (कोशः) like the नामलिङ्गानुशासनम् of अमरसिंह can be traced to the वेदाङ्गनिरुक्तम्. While the Nirukta interpreted the words of the Vedas the कोश or निघण्डु works collected the words in use and presented them with their correct meanings and usage for poets to choose the proper words to express their ideas. The words in these works are arranged according to the subject matter and their correct meaning, gender etc.. are given. Grammatical peculiarities, if any, are also explained in some cases—such as "ऊर्ध्वज्ञुरूर्ध्वजानुः स्यात्संज्ञुः संहतजानुकः" Synonyms and words having more than one meaning are grouped separately. There are a good number of these works which are very useful to poets.

Some early authors and works such as the नाममाला of कात्यायन, उत्पलिनी of व्याडि, शब्दार्णव of unknown author etc., are known through references and quotations only. The earliest निघण्डु now preserved is the नामलिङ्गानुशासनम् of अमरसिंह who is assigned to the 6th century A.D. This

work which is accepted as an authority on correct meaning, gender etc,, is popularly known as अमरकोशः. It gives synonyms in three sections called Kandas and then deals briefly with homonyms (नानार्थ), indeclinables (अव्यय) and genders (लिङ्गम्). It is said that अमरसिंह was a jain and the orthodox Hindus at first hesitated to accept the book, but finding that the book contained correct and useful information highly essential for the study of Sanskrit Language and literature they accepted it in the end. The saying "अमरसिंहो हि पापीयान् सर्वं शास्त्रमचूचुरत्" supports this story.

शाश्वतः of almost the same period as अमरसिंह is the author of a lexicon called अनेकार्थसमुच्चयः।

अभिधानरत्नमाला of हलायुध of the 10th century A D., वैजयन्ती of यादवप्रकाश of the 11th century A.D., नानार्थरत्नमाला of अजयपाल of the same period and नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेपः of केशवस्वामी of the 12th century A.D., are some of the popular lexicons which are frequently quoted by Mallinatha and other commentators.

हेमचन्द्र of the 12th century A.D., is the author of अभिधानचिन्तामणिः and अनेकार्थसंग्रहः while मङ्खः of the same period is the author of अनेकार्थकोशः। There are also several medical, astronomical and other scientific lexicons. The Parsiprakasa, a lexicon on astronomical and astrological terms was written by वेदाङ्गराय of the 17th century A.D. The पाइयलच्छि of धनपाल of the early 11th century A.D., is a dictionary of Prakrit words. वाचस्पत्यम् and शब्दकल्पद्रुमम् are two huge works of recent origin which are encyclopaedic in their contents.

Science of Grammar—व्याकरणशास्त्रम्

व्याकरणम् or the science of grammar is the most important supplement of the Vedas (वेदाङ्ग) and we have already dealt with it briefly in an earlier section. This science is equally important for the study of spoken and literary Sanskrit and it has developed as a separate branch of study in the post-vedic period. The grammar of Sanskrit language is so elaborate, accurate, complete and comprehensive that it has become one of the most important and independent branch of learning while in other languages, grammar is treated only as a part of their literature.

The earliest treatise on Sanskrit Grammar now preserved is the अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि who must have lived some where between the 8th and 6th century B.C. We understand from this work that there were many grammarians before पाणिनि but none of their works is preserved for us. The great monumental work of पाणिनि dealing systematically and completely with the grammar of the Vedic as well as the spoken Sanskrit (भाषा), perhaps totally eclipsed the earlier works which disappeared in course of time on account of sheer neglect, Panini's अष्टाध्यायी consists of eight chapters containing about 4000 Sutras. He has also written the धातुपाठः which contains a complete list of roots (धातु) and the गणपाठ which contains groups of words that have some common grammatical features.

कात्यायन also known as वररुचि wrote the वार्तिक to the Sutras of Panini in which he has corrected, modified and supplimented some of the Sutras. (उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्त

विचारो वार्तिकम्). This was probably due to the changes that occured in the spoken language in the course of more than 200 years after पाणिनि. कात्यायन is placed some where in the 5th century B.C.

पतञ्जलि: who flourished in the 2nd century. B.C., wrote the महाभाष्यम्—the most authoritative commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि. Containing discussions, criticism and his own additional rules (इष्टि) this is much more than a mere commentary. भाष्यम् is defined thus :—

"सूत्रस्थं पदमादाय वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः ।

स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥"

It is said that व्याडि: a contemporary of पाणिनि wrote a commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी called संग्रह: and the महाभाष्य was based on that work. पतञ्जलि often rejects the Vartikas of कात्यायन and defends the Sutras of Panini. The style of महाभाष्यम् is majestic, though simple. There is a saying which effectively brings out the greatness of this work—"महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयं, महाराज्यं वा पालनीयम्" The importance of महाभाष्यं is also due to its discussion of the Vartikas while in other Sastras the Vartikas come after the भाष्यम् । भाष्यस्यास्य महत्वं हि वार्तिकोपरि चिन्तनात्" Salute to पतञ्जलि who is said to be an अवतार of आदिशेष.

कैयट of the 11th century A.D., has commented upon महाभाष्य in his work called प्रदीप: । नागेशभट्ट:, of the 17th century A.D., has written a commentary to प्रदीप called उद्योत: ।

भर्तृहरि of the 7th century A.D., has written an original work called वाक्यपदीयम् dealing with the philosophical

aspects of Sanskrit grammar in which he has developed the doctrine of स्फोट which has been referred to by पतञ्जलि and is said to have been founded by स्फोटायन a predecessor of पाणिनि. This स्फोटसिद्धान्त has been further dealt with by मण्डनमिश्र of the 7th century A.D., in his स्फोटसिद्धिः and नागेशभट्ट in his स्फोटवादः where he has systematised this doctrine. भर्तृहरि has also written a commentary on महाभाष्यं called महाभाष्यदीपिका which is incomplete.

काशिकावृत्तिः, a lucid commentary on the Sutras of पाणिनि was written jointly by जयादित्य and वामन of the early 7th century A.D. This work along with the commentary known as न्यासः written by जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि in the latter half of the 7th century A.D., became very popular for the study of Sanskrit Language and grammar till the now popular सिद्धान्तकौमुदी of Bhattojidikshita of the 17th century A.D., eclipsed it along with so many other works which were written in the succeeding centuries after काशिकावृत्ति with the idea of making the study of Panini's grammar easy.

King Bhoja of the 11th century A.D., is the author of सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् on the model of Panini's अष्टाध्यायी.

धर्मकीर्तिः, a Buddhist monk of the 17th century A.D., is the author of रूपावतारः in which he has changed the order of Panini's Sutras with the idea of making the study of grammar easy.

बोपदेव of the 13th century A.D., is the author of मुग्धबोधः, a work aimed at simplifying the grammar of पाणिनि. He has also written another work called कविकल्पद्रुमः which contains a list of roots arranged according to their endings.

माधवीयधातुवृत्तिः which gives the forms of roots in the various tenses along with their derivations is a useful work said to have been written by the great सायणाचार्य of the 14th century A.D., and published in the name of his brother माधवः.

प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्र of the 15th century A.D., and प्रक्रियासर्वस्वम् of नारायणभट्ट of the 16th century A.D., are two grammar works in which the sutras of पाणिनि are rearranged in a manner that is helpful in understanding the formation of words.

भट्टोजिदीक्षित of the 17th century A.D., is the author of the most popular work on the system of panini's grammar called सिद्धान्तकौमुदी. This work is written on the model of the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्र and explains all the Sutras of the अष्टाध्यायी, the Vartikas of कात्यायन and also the Paribhashas. This work outshone all the earlier works from काशिकावृत्ति onwards and naturally they all went out of use. Bhattoji Dikshita has also written a commentary on his own सिद्धान्तकौमुदी called प्रौढमनोरमा and a commentary on the Sutras of Panini in their original order called शब्दकौस्तुभम्.

नागशभट्टः of the latter part of the 17th century A.D., is the author of बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखरम् and लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरम्, two independent commentaries on सिद्धान्तकौमुदी; परिभाषेन्दुशेखरम् —a work giving a lucid exposition of the Paribhashas (recognised rules of interpretation) and महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत, a commentary on Kaiyata's प्रदीप. He is also the author of मञ्जूषा and स्फोटवादः on the philosophical aspects of Sanskrit grammar. नागेशभट्ट is a versatile scholar who has also written many valuable works on योगः, धर्मशास्त्रं and अलंकारः ।

तत्त्वबोधिनी by ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वती and बालमनोरमा by वासुदेव-दीक्षित are two commentaries on सिद्धान्तकौमुदी which have made the study of that work easier. The former is scholarly and critical while the latter is simple and exhaustive. Both the works belong to the 18th century A.D.

Apart from the system of Panini, there came into existence in different periods other schools of grammar which were sectarian in purpose. The कातन्त्रव्याकरणम् founded by शरवर्मन् of about the 1st century A.D., the चान्द्रव्याकरणम् founded by a Buddhist in about the 5th century A.D., the जिनेन्द्र school said to have been originated from a talk between इन्द्रः and जिनमहावीरः, the शाकटायन school founded by a श्वेताम्बर Jain of that name in the 9th Century A.D., etc., are some of the non-Paniniyan schools which flourished for a short period and then disappeared for want of followers.

PRAKṚTA VYĀKARAṆA

Side by side with the Sanskrit grammar, the grammar of प्राकृत dialects also had its own independent development. The प्राकृतप्रकाश: of वररुचि is the earliest work on प्राकृतव्याकरणम्. It deals with four प्राकृत dialects—the महाराष्ट्री, पैशाची, मागधी and शौरसेनी. भामह, the अलङ्कारिक of the 7th century A.D., and रामपाणिवादः of the 10th century A.D., have written commentaries on this work.

The प्राकृत Sutras attributed to वाल्मीकि, which are really of later origin deal with six dialects—महाराष्ट्री, शौरसेनी, मागधी, पैशाची, चूलिका and अपभ्रंशः। त्रिविक्रमभट्टः of the 14th century A.D., has commented on these Sutras. He

has also written an independent work called प्राकृतशब्दानु-शासनम्। The षड्भाषाचन्द्रिका of लक्ष्मीधर, प्राकृतकामधेनु: of लङ्केश्वरः which is a commentary on the प्राकृत Sutras of शेषनाग: and प्राकृतकल्पतरु: of रामतर्कवागीश are some of the later treatises on प्राकृत grammar.

ज्यौतिषम् or
Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics

We have already dealt with वेदाङ्गज्यौतिषं and now we proceed to deal with the ज्यौतिषं of the classical period. Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics formed the three main divisions of ज्योतिषम्. The movements of the stars and planets were studied from very early period and their influence on the weather, the plant life and human life were also recognised and studied. This resulted in the development of Astronomy and Astrology. Calculations of the movements of the celestial beings and working out their positions gave rise to the science of Mathematics. The construction of altars according to strict rules in different shapes for various sacrifices made geometry a part of Brahmanical rites. The Sulba Sutras which are part of the Srauta Sutras point to some progress in the field of geometry. The numerical figures used all over the world and the decimal system of reckoning depending on those figures were invented by the Indians who were the teachers of the Arabs in arithmetic and algebra. The Arabs got the writing of Aryabhata translated to their language in the 8th century A.D. As regards Astrology and Astronomy, the ancient Indians attained some progress independently but soon they came under the influence of the Greek Astronomy and Astrology. The

works on Jyotisha generally treat with all the three divisions or one or two of them.

वराहमिहिरः the great Indian Astronomer who died in 587 A.D., has mentioned असित, देवल, गर्ग, वृद्धगर्ग नारद and पराशर as the early astronomers but their works are available only in fragments. गर्गसंहिता was known to the Greeks who came along with Alexander but it is now lost for us, having probably been carried away by the Greeks.

आर्यभट: who wrote the आर्यभटीयम् in 499 A.D., is the earliest of the Indian astronomers whose works have been preserved. 33 stanzas in his work are on Mathamatics while others are Astronomical in content. He held that the earth was a sphere and it rotated in its own axil. This was contrary to the view of the othodox Indian school. He also had a correct conception of the eclipse. His stanzas on Mathematics show considerable progress of the Indians in that field. आर्यभट was born in the year 476 A.D., in कुसुमपुरम्.

वराहमिहिर who died in 587 A.D., is the greatest authority in Indian Astronomy and Astrology. His great work पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका gives an account of the five schools of Astronomy called—(1) पैतामहसिद्धान्तः, (2) रोमकसिद्धान्तः, (3) पैलिशसिद्धान्तः (4) सूर्यसिद्धान्तः and (5) वसिष्ठसिद्धान्तः । The most accurate among these is the सूर्यसिद्धान्त. The बृहज्जातकम् of वराहमिहिर which is popularly known as होरा is an authoritative work on Astrology. He is also the author of बृहद्विवाहपटलम about marriages and the बृहत्संहिता in 106 chapters which deals with astrology, geography, weather, characteristic marks on the bodies of men,

women etc., the omens and many such things. In the matter of Astrology, he often refers to the views of the Greek.

ब्रह्मगुप्त who was born in 598 A.D., has written two works on astronomy—the ब्रह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त in 628 A.D., and खण्डखाद्यक in 665 A.D.

The earliest work on astrology is perhaps the यवनजातकम् by one यवनेश्वर composed in 169 A.D. Another work of the same name by one स्फूजिध्वज was composed in 268 A.D., which contains 4000 verses.

पृथुयशाः, son of वराहमिहिर is the author of होराषट्-पञ्चाशिका, which along with the works of his father has been commented upon by भट्टोत्पल of the 10th century A.D. To king Bhoja is attributed the work called विद्वज्जनवल्लभः ।

At the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Mahaviracharya wrote the गणितसारसंग्रहः a work dealing with geometrical progressions.

In the year 1172 A.D., the great mathematician भास्कराचार्यः wrote the सिद्धान्तशिरोमणिः consisting of four parts—(1) लीलावती, (2) बीजगणितम्, (3) ग्रहगणितम् and (4) गोलः. He also wrote the करणकुतूहलम् on करण in the year 1188 A.D.

After the 12th century A.D., many works were written on Astrology but few on Astronomy and mathematics. The Indians began to look to the west for knowledge on these subjects.

Palmistry and प्रश्नमार्गः began to develop as two independant branches of astrology from the 12th century onwards. They are used for predictions of the future but their scientific value is doubtful.

सारावली, फलदीपिका, जातकादेशः, जातकचन्द्रिका, बृहत्पाराशरीयम् etc., are some of the popular works on predictive astrology.

धर्मशास्त्रम्—Laws and Rules of Conduct

Dharma sastra which comprises law and rules of conduct of the people of different category had its origin in the धर्म sutras which formed part of the वेदाङ्गकल्पसूत्रम् । The Mahabharatam contains lengthy discourses on topics of Dharmasastra. The earliest work which codifies the laws and duties on the secular side is the मनुस्मृतिः or the मानवधर्मशास्त्रं which was considered as an authority on law till the time of Kalidasa. i.e., 1st century B.C. The commentaries of मेधातिथि of the 9th century A.D., and of कुल्लूकभट्ट of the 12th century A.D., on the मनुस्मृति are well known.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति which was probably written in the 1st century B.C., is the next important book on law. This work divided into three chapters on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त respectively became very popular and became an authority on Hindu law with the commentary मिताक्षरा written by विज्ञानेश्वर in the 12th century A.D. There are also many other valuable commentaries to याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

नारदस्मृतिः, पराशरस्मृतिः and बृहस्पतिस्मृतिः all belonging to the early period of the christian era are some of the other popular law books.

There are also a large number of digests on law which are highly valuable and authoritative. Most of those works were written after the 12th century A.D. धर्मरत्नं of जीमूतवाहन of the 12th century A.D. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका of देवण्णभट्ट of the 13th century A.D., and चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणिः of हेमाद्रि of almost the same period, are some of them. The स्मृतिमुक्ताफलं of वैद्यनाथदीक्षित ; the निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट and the वीरमित्रोदयम् of मित्रमिश्र are the most popular works regarded as authoritative even to day. All these were written in about the 17th century A.D.

The Secondary Vedas उपवेदः

Among the four Upavedas, we have already dealt with गान्धर्ववेद, and now we proceed to deal with the other three—Ayurveda, Dhanur Veda and अर्थशास्त्रम्.

Ayurveda or Indian Medicine

आयुर्वेदः, अथवा वैद्यशास्त्रम्

The Indian system of medicine called आयुर्वेद had its origin in the Vedic period. Rudra is spoken as a doctor (भिषक्) of gods. The Asvins are spoken as the physicians who gave eye-sight to the blind and made the lame to walk. The Atharva Veda has sections dealing with health and hygiene and the Puranas and Smritis contain accounts of medicine. Ayurveda developed in close association with the Dharma Sastras and the systems of philosophy like Ṣankhya and Yoga. The three qualities of matter—सत्त्वं, रजः and तमः are closely related to and greatly influenced by the three humours of the body—viz. वात-पित्त and कफ. It is said that the sages

called अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्. He is also the author of अष्टाङ्गसंग्रहः। आयुर्वेद is spoken as having eight parts—अष्टाङ्गः—They are —(1) शल्य—Surgery and Midwifery (2) शालाक्य—diseases of the eyes, ears and other parts of the head, (3) कायचिकित्सा—treating the bodily ailments with medicines. (4) भूतविद्या—psycho-therapy, (5) कुमारभृत्या—treatment and rearing up of children, (6) अगदम्—Antidotes, (7) रसायनतन्त्रम्—elixirs and (8) वाजीकरणम्—Rejuvenation.

नागार्जुनः of uncertain date is the author of a treatise on आयुर्वेद called योगसारः। The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Thsang refers to one Nagarjuna who was an authority on medicine and chemistry. He is said to have written a book on metallic preparations of compounds; particularly of mercury and iron. That work was called रसरत्नाकरः

Among the many later works on आयुर्वेद mention may be made of रुग्विनिश्चयः of माधवकर of the 8th century A.D., which is also known as माधवनिदानम्, सिद्धियोग of वृन्तमाधव of uncertain date, Vopadeva's commentary on an ancient work on Indian medicine called शार्ङ्गधरसंहिता and his original work called शतश्लोकी dealing with powders and pills.

Indian medicine is not confined to the treatment of human beings alone. There are treatises on the treatments of animals, birds and trees. Surapala's वृक्षायुर्वेद, Narayana's मातङ्गलीला dealing with the diseases of elephants, the Asvayurveda of गण and अश्वचिकित्सा of जयदत्त and नकुल are some of them. The Rajanighandu, of नरहरि and धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु of unknown author are some of the Nighandus on the subject of medicine.

Arthasastra or The Science of Politics and Administration

अर्थशास्त्रम् अथवा नीतिशास्त्रम्

The term अर्थशास्त्रं is generally understood to denote politics but really it means something more. It is the Sastra which helps in the attainment of the second पुरुषार्थ 'Material prosperity.' (अर्थः). Thus it is a subject concerning all aspects of practical life. The individual prosperity depends on the prosperity of the society which depends upon peace and good government in the country. Hence the association of अर्थशास्त्रं with kings, government and politics. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana contain chapters dealing with subjects of अर्थशास्त्रं. The law books of Manu and Yajnavalkya as well as the Dharmasutras contain some information on this subject and it is known by different names such as नीतिशास्त्रं, दण्डनीतिः or राजनीतिः, । बृहस्पतिः, उशनसू, विशालाक्षः, भरद्वाजः, पराशरः and others are mentioned as authorities on अर्थशास्त्रम्.

The earliest available treatise on this subject is the अर्थशास्त्रम् of Kautilya who is also known as Chanakya. This is a great work divided into 15 sections written mainly in prose. It deals with almost all aspects of administration, state-craft, military strategy, taxation, foreign policy etc. Chanakya, (also called कौटिल्य or विष्णुगुप्त) the author of this work was the minister of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. From this fact as well as from the style of the work, its date can be fixed in the 4th century B.C. Mr. C. E. M. Joad says about this work thus—"Throughout it is characterised by a freshness and realism which suggest that the author had first-hand experience of the actual problems of which he so engagingly writes."

शुक्रनीतिसार: in 2200 stanzas is said to be a condensed version of a bigger work on the science of politics. From the style and the nature of treatment of the subject the work must be placed in the pre-christian era.

नीतिसार: of कामन्दक: of about the 7th century A.D., is based on the अर्थशास्त्रं of कौटिल्य ।

नीतिवाक्यामृतम् of Somadevasuri, a jain author ; reaches morals to the kings and disagrees with the views of Chanakya regarding war and administration. युक्तिकल्पतरु: of Bhoja and नीतिरत्नाकर: of Chandeswara are two of the many works on the subjects worth mentioning.

Dhanurveda or The Science of Archery धनुर्वेद:

From the Vedic period onwards wars were fought with bows and arrows so frequently that training in the use of weapons became an essential part of man's education. It is said that विश्वामित्र:, सदाशिव:, शार्ङ्गदत्त: and विक्रमादित्य have written treatises on Archery but they are not available now. There are a few later works on Dhanurveda such as कोदण्डमण्डनम् of unknown author and date and वीरचिन्तामणि of शार्ङ्गधर: of the 14th century A.D.

Architecture—शिल्पशास्त्रम् अथवा वास्तुविद्या

वास्तुविद्या or Architecture attained a very high stage of development in Ancient India and we have a good literature on the subject. Ramayana speaks of town planning and the construction of palaces and forts with fort-walls, moats and towers for defence. In Mahabharatam युधिष्ठिर is said to have built the town इन्द्रप्रस्थ

according to a very detailed plan. The huge temples of South India, the Stupas, Chaityas and Viharas of the Buddhists and Jains are monuments of Indian architecture.

मयमतम् , सनत्कुमारवास्तुशास्त्रम् and मानसार: are some of the early works on Architecture and sculpture. समराङ्गण-सूत्रधार: of King Bhoja of the 11th century A.D., शिल्परत्नम् of Sri Kumara of the 16th century A.D., are two later works on Architecture. There are also other works such as मनुष्यालयचन्द्रिका, वास्तुमण्डन, प्रासादमण्डन etc., which deal with different branches of शिल्पशास्त्रम्.

Painting was practised in ancient India to perfection. There are many reference to paintings in classical literature and there is no drama in Sanskrit in which painting is not mentioned. There are also beautiful paintings in temples and in the caves of Ajanta which bear testimony to the perfection achieved in this art. But at present there is no work available to represent this art.

धनुर्वेद:, वास्तुविद्या and Painting are all subjects closely related to अर्थशास्त्रम्.

VI. Systems of Philosophy—दर्शनानि

Philosophy which means love of wisdom is the science which aims at an explanation of all the phenomena of the universe by ultimate causes. It is called दर्शनानि (spiritual perception) in Sanskrit. It is concerned with the understanding of the true nature of the supreme being and its relation with the individual soul and the

external world. The final goal of life is the attainment of the reality which is established by philosophical discussions. In India, philosophy also prescribes a way of life to approach the truth. Thus religion and philosophy आचार and विचार go together. Among the four aims of life मोक्ष is the highest since there the soul is liberated from all bondages. धर्म, अर्थ, and काम bind the soul to the worldly affairs and cause a series of births and deaths.

The beginnings of Indian Philosophy can be found in the hymns of the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda which speculate on the origin of the world and on the eternal principle by which it is created and maintained. The Upanishads contain the germs of all the different schools of philosophy which were later on systematised in manuals. Six orthodox systems of philosophy have been recognised. They are न्यायः, वैशेषिकं, साङ्ख्यं, योगः, मीमांसा and वेदान्तः। The doctrine of transmigration and the doctrine of salvation which puts an end to transmigration are common to all the six systems. All are agreed that salvation is attained by knowledge but they differ in the nature of the knowledge to be acquired and in the condition of the soul after attaining मोक्ष.

Nyaya and Vaiseshika—न्यायवैशेषिके

The two systems of philosophy, the न्याय and वैशेषिक form a closely connected pair. Both lay stress on methodical reasoning and explain the origin of the world from atoms. Both systems deal with problems of psychology and aim at the salvation of the soul (निःश्रेयसाधिगमः) which they say is attained through तत्वज्ञानम् ' धर्मविशेषप्रसूतात् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेष समवायानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां

तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः". (वैशेषिकसूत्रं) "प्रमाणप्रमेयसंशयप्रयोजन-सिद्धान्तदृष्टान्त अवयवतर्कनिर्णयवादजल्पवितण्डा हेत्वाभासछलजाति-निग्रहस्थानानांतत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः" (न्यायसूत्रम्) The वैशेषिक system is older than न्यायदर्शनम् and, in fact, the latter is only a development of the वैशेषिकदर्शनम्. Though the two systems developed separately उदयनाचार्य of the 10th century A.D., wrote works on both systems and गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः of the 12th century A.D., combined the two systems into one and all later writers followed him.

The sage कणादः is the author of the वैशेषिक Sutras which, being earlier than the Sutras of जैमिनि and बादरायण must have been composed before 500 B.C. कणाद is also known as कणभुक्, कणभक्षः and उलूकः। There is a reference to sage उलूक in the Mahabharatam, Bhishma Parva. The वैशेषिक Sutras were commented upon by one प्रशस्तपाद in his पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहः which is also known as प्रशस्तपादभाष्यम्। This work which is not a mere commentary of the Sutras but is an independent treatise on the Vaiseshika System, was composed somewhere about 400 A.D. Other early works on वैशेषिकदर्शन are the कणादसूत्रवृत्ति of जयनारायणभट्ट and वैशेषिकभाष्यं of चन्द्रकान्तभट्टः.

The प्रशस्तपादभाष्यं attained prominence being commented by three eminent writers of the 10th century A.D., viz.—व्योमशिखाचार्यः in his व्योमवती, उदयनाचार्यः in his किरणावली and श्रीधर in his न्यायकन्दलीं and also by one वल्लभ of the 11th century A.D., in his न्यायलीलावती. After this the system got itself merged in the Nyaya system.

Sage Gautama also known as अक्षपादः is the author of Nyaya Sutras which must have been composed about 400 B.C. वात्स्यायन of the 2nd century A.D., who was

also called पक्षिलस्वामी wrote the भाष्यं for न्यायसूत्र. भारद्वाजः उद्योतकरः of the 6th century A.D., wrote the न्यायवार्तिकम् which was commented upon by वाचस्पतिमिश्रः of the 9th century A.D., in his न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका । वाचस्पतिमिश्र is also the author of न्यायसूचीनिबन्धः which is an index of Nyaya Sutras.

The great Udayanacharya of the 10th century A.D., is the author of many important works. Besides his commentary on प्रशस्तपादभाष्यं called किरणावली he wrote a commentary called तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि on Vachaspati Misra's न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका. His greatest work is the न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः which is the best treatise on theism. Besides these he has also written the आत्मतत्त्वविवेकः on the existence of the soul, the न्यायपरिशिष्टम् and लक्षणावलि. In view of his great contributions to the न्याय and वैशेषिक systems and to theism in particular. he was given the title न्यायाचार्यः ।

जयन्तभट्टः of the early 10th century A.D., is the author of an independent work on Nyaya called न्यायमञ्जरी in which he has commented on a large number of Nyaya Sutras. भासर्वज्ञः of about the same period wrote न्यायसारः, an independent treatise on Nyaya-system. He does not accept उपमान as a प्रमाणम्. The Vaiseshikas accept only two—प्रत्यक्ष and अनुमान while the Naiyayikas accept four Pramanas—प्रत्यक्षं, अनुमानं, उपमानं and शब्दः. The सप्तपदार्थी of शिवादित्य of the 11th century A.D., is a manual on वैशेषिक system while तार्किकरक्षा of वरदराज of the 12th century A.D., is a treatise on न्याय system.

In about 1150 A.D., Gangesopadhyaya wrote his great work तत्त्वचिन्तामणिः and gave a start to what is known as नव्यन्यायशास्त्रम्. The तत्वचिन्तामणि is divided into

four chapters each dealing with one प्रमाणम्. Commentaries on this work grew in succeeding centuries and the नव्यन्याय developed and flourished till about the end of the 17th century A.D., In a way it eclipsed the earlier works like the सूत्रभाष्य and its commentaries.

Among the many commentaries on तत्त्वचिन्तामणि written by many eminent authors like Jayadeva otherwise called पक्षधरमिश्र of the 13th century A.D., वासुदेवसार्वभौम of the 15th century and others, the commentary called दीधिति written by रघुनाथशिरोमणिः of the 16th century A.D., is the most popular and important. This दीधिति along with तत्त्वचिन्तामणि was again commented by many among which the commentaries of गदाधर and जगदीश known as गादाधरी and जागदीशी written in the 17th century A.D., have become popular and famous. It is said that one cannot be called a पण्डित if he had not studied at least a portion of गादाधरी. Again जगदीश and गदाधर have written two independent works on शाब्दबोध called शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका and व्युत्पत्तिवादः respectively. व्युत्पत्तिवादः is so useful and popular that Vaiyakaranas, Mimamsakas and Vedantins study that work. These two great Bhattacharyas have also written many other works on Nyaya.

Side by side with these commentaries on तत्त्वचिन्तामणि and दीधिति were written many independent treatises useful for the beginners to get a grasp of the न्याय and वैशेषिक systems. न्यायकलिका, लक्षणावली, सप्तपदार्थी, तर्कभाषा, तर्ककौमुदी, तर्कामृतं, तर्कसंग्रह and दीपिका are some of them. Among these the तर्कसंग्रह with the author's own commentary दीपिका by अन्नंभट्ट of the 17th century is the most useful and popular text book for beginners. The next popular

and more elaborate treatise is the भाषापरिच्छेदः of विश्वनाथ-पञ्चाननः of the same period. This work is also known as कारिकावली to which the author himself has written a commentary called सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली. With its commentaries called दिनकरी, रामरुद्री etc., it has become a standard प्रकरणग्रन्थः

Sankhya--सांख्यदर्शनम्

The sage कपिल is said to be founder of the सांख्य system which was earlier than Buddha. The Buddhist associate the sage with कपिलवस्तु the birth place of Buddha and Buddhism has been greatly influenced by the doctrines of the Sankhyas. Kapila's work is not available now and the Sankhya Sutras now available are of later origin. We also do not have any work composed by Kapila's disciple आसुरि or his disciple पञ्चशिखः. The earliest available work giving the gist of the doctrines of the Sankhya System in 72 memorable verses is the सांख्यकारिका of ईश्वरकृष्ण who is assigned to the 2nd century A.D. These Karikas were commented in माठरवृत्ति of unknown authorship. The Sankhya Karikas were translated into Chinese in the 6th century A.D. गौडपादाचार्य, the परमगुरु of आदिशङ्कर has written a Bhashyam to the Sankhya Karikas and वाचस्पतिमिश्र of the 9th century A.D., has written a commentary called सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी । The साँख्य Sutras which are not the original Sutras of कपिल but are of later origin have been commented by विज्ञानभिक्षु of the 16th century A.D., in his साँख्यप्रवचनभाष्यम् which is a good work on Sankhya system.

The teaching of Kapila is dualistic. He admits two things—प्रकृति and पुरुष—both without beginning and

end but essentially different. Kapila was the first man to draw a clear line of demarcation between the domains of matter and soul (प्रकृति and पुरुष). The existence of a supreme god who creates and rules the universe is denied by the Sankhyas. The evolution and diversity of the world are explained by the three constituents of matter called सत्व, रजस् and तमस्. The name सांख्य is derived from संख्या, probably due to the enumeration of the 25 Tattvas—(1) मूलप्रकृतिः (2) महान् (3) अहङ्कारः (4 to 8) शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धतन्मात्राणि । कर्मेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च, ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च, मनश्चैकं इति एकादशेन्द्रियाणि. 11+8=19. महाभूतानि पञ्च—19+5=24. पुरुषश्च पञ्जविंशतितमः । According to this system all mental operations such as perception, willing and thinking are not performed by the soul but are merely mechanical processes of the internal organs—बुद्धि, अहंकार and मनस्.—all evolved from प्रकृति. The सांख्य doctrines have their origin in some passages of the कठ, छान्दोग्य and श्वेताश्वतर Upanishads and they have been beautifully expounded in the भगवद्गीता.

Yoga—पातञ्जलयोगदर्शनम्

The योग system is an improvement on the Sankhya philosophy with the addition of a peculiar form of mental asceticism as the most effective means of acquiring saving knowledge. This system too had its origin in the Vedas where it was known as प्राणविद्या but this was systematised by पतञ्जलि in the योग Sutras. Control of the mind to get rid of the influence of matter is योग and the system gives in detail the methods of controlling the mind. Eight steps are enumerated to be gone through for getting full control over the functions of the mind. They are—यम, नियम, आसन, प्राणायाम. प्रत्याहार, धारणा, ध्यान and

समाधि । The योग sutras of पतञ्जलि accept a personal God and that is an improvement on the Sankhya system which does not accept a personal God.

पतञ्जलि, the author of योग Sutras is identified with the great grammarian and hence the date of the Yoga Sutras has to be fixed in the third century B.C. Mysterious powers are said to be acquired by the practice of Yoga. The Yoga Sutras consist of four chapters dealing with समाधि, साधन, विभूति and कैवल्यम्. मनुस्मृति and many later Upanishads refer to Yoga doctrine.

योगसूत्रभाष्यम् was written by one Vyasa of the 4th century A.D., and that was commented by वाचस्पतिमिश्र of the 9th century A.D, in his तत्त्ववैशारदी । विज्ञानभिक्षु of the 16th century A.D., wrote पातञ्जलभाष्यवार्तिकम् and योगसारसंग्रहः on Yoga. राजमार्तण्ड of भोज of the 11th century A.D., भावागणेशवृत्तिः, मणिप्रभा, योगचन्द्रिका etc., are some of the important works on Yoga.

The Yogic practices are divided into two types—(1) Rajayoga dealing with concentration of the mind and (2) Hathayoga which is mainly concerned with the removal of bodily impurities which hinder mental concentration. The हठयोगप्रदीपिका of स्वात्मारामयतीन्द्र deals with the latter type.

Mimamsa—मीमांसाशास्त्रम्

मीमांसा means 'Inquiry' विचारः—It deals with the the practical side of Vedic religion by discussing the sacred ceremonies and the rewards arising from their performance. This system concerns itself with the

Karmakanda (संहिता, ब्राह्मण and आरण्यक portions) of the Vedas and hence is called कर्ममीमांसा or पूर्वमीमांसा. The Vedanta system which is concerned with the ज्ञानकाण्ड (Upanishad portion) of the Vedas is called उत्तरमीमांसा or ब्रह्ममीमांसा. This system has framed rules of interpretation of Vedic passages which are applicable even to secular passages and have been accepted even by other systems. Holding the Vedas to be uncreated and eternal, this system lays stress on the proposition that articulate sounds are eternal (शब्दो नित्य:) and the connection of a word with its sense is not due to any convention but is inherent in the word itself (औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्ध:—औत्पत्तिक: नित्य:) ; does not accept God as the giver of the fruits of action but maintains that कर्म itself produces the effect.

जैमिनि: is the author of मीमांसा Sutras in 12 chapters which must have been composed before the 4th century A.D. उपवर्ष and भवदास are said to have written Vrittis on these Sutras but their works are now lost. महाभाष्य mentions one मीमांसक by name काशकृत्स्न but his work also is lost. शबरस्वामी of the 3rd century A.D., has written the मीमांसासूत्रभाष्यम् which was commented by three persons —कुमारिलभट्ट:, प्रभाकर: and मुरारि: – each in his own way. मुरारि had no followers but कुमारिल: and प्रभाकर: became the founders of two different schools—the भाट्टमतम् and गुरुमतम् । Both of them belonged to the 7th century A.D. According to tradition प्रभाकर was the disciple of कुमारिल and on account of his extraordinary intelligence he was given the title 'गुरु:' by कुमारिल himself. कुमारिल accepts six Pramanas—प्रत्यक्षं, अनमानं, उपमानं, शब्द:, अर्थापत्ति: and अनुपलब्धि: while प्रभाकर accepts five only omitting the last. The following verse is worth remembering to have an

easy reference to the Pramanas accepted by different schools :—

"चार्वाकस्तावदेकं द्वितयमपि पुनर्बौद्धवैशेषिकौ द्वौ
भासर्वज्ञश्च सांख्यास्त्रितयमुदयनाद्याश्चतुष्कं वदन्ति ।
प्राहुः प्राभाकराद्याः पञ्चकं वयमपि ते च वेदान्तविज्ञाः
षट्कं पौराणिकास्त्वष्टकमभिदधिरे संभवैतिह्ययोगात् ।।"

Kumarila Bhatta's commentary on शबरभाष्यं is of three parts—the श्लोकवार्तिकम्; तन्त्रवार्तिकम् and टुप्टीका. He saved मीमांसा from the attack of Buddhists and established it on sound footing. मण्डनमिश्र who was a contemporary of कुमारिल wrote three works—विधिविवेकः, भावनाविवेकः and विभ्रमविवेकः । वाचस्पतिमिश्रः wrote the न्यायकणिका, a commentary on विधिविवेकः । He also wrote an independent treatise called तत्त्वबिन्दुः ।

पार्थसारथिमिश्र of the 12th century A.D. wrote an exhaustive and comprehensive treatise on the Mimamsa system of Bhatta school called शास्त्रदीपिका । He has also written another work called न्यायरत्नमाला a work showing the difference between भाट्ट and प्राभाकर schools on important issues. माधव of the 14th century A.D., is the author of न्यायमालाविस्तरः a useful प्रकरणग्रन्थ । विश्वेश्वरः who is known as गागाभट्टः is the author of भाट्टचिन्तामणि, a commentary on मिमांसा Sutras. आपदेव of the 17th century A.D., is the author of the popular manual (प्रकरणग्रन्थ) on मीमांसा system called मीमांसान्यायप्रकाशः । खण्डदेवः of the same period is the author of भाट्टदीपिका and भाट्टरहस्यम्—two important books on मीमांसा system. Appayyadikshita's विधिरसायनम् and उपक्रमपराक्रमः and the अर्थसंग्रहः of लौगाक्षिभास्कर are some other works in Bhatta school.

Coming to the गुरु or प्राभाकर school, प्रभाकर of the 7th century A.D., wrote his commentary called बृहति on the शबरभाष्यम् and this बृहति was commented by शालिकनाथ of the 8th century A.D., in his ऋजुविमला । Salikanatha has also written a popular manual on Prabhakara school called प्रकरणपञ्चिका. The नयविवेक of भवनाथ of the 12th century A.D., explains the various sections in the मीमांसा Sutras in the light of Prabhakara's views.

Vedanta – वेदान्तदर्शनम्

वेदान्त means the last portion of the Vedas which consists of the upanishads. Hence the system of philosophy based on the upanishads is called the Vedanta Darsanam. The passages in the upanishads are manifold. Some of them clearly speak of the identity of the individual soul with the supreme Being—"तत्त्वमसि" "अयमात्मा ब्रह्म" etc., while there are passages which appear to speak of the difference between the individual soul, the God and matter. Such passages have given rise to different interpretations and Vyasa, also called बादरायण, wrote the ब्रह्म sutras in order to clear the apparent contradictions of the upanishadic passages and show that the fundamental doctrine of all the upanishads is the identity of the individual soul with God. The individual soul is the whole indivisible Brahman and not a part or emanation of it since the eternal and infinite Brahman is not made up of parts or liable to change. The evidence of experience which show a multiplicity of phenomena and the statements of the Vedas which speak of multiplicity of souls are only true till true knowledge of the ब्रह्मन् is acquired. The ultimate cause of all false impressions is अविद्या or innate ignorance. The illusion

caused by अविद्या vanishes as if by magic on the acquisition of true knowledge.

The Vedanta Darsana is also known by the names ब्रह्ममीमांसा, उत्तरमीमांसा or शारीरकमीमांसा – "Inquiry concerning Brahman or the embodied soul." The ब्रह्म Sutras, also called वेदान्त Sutras of व्यास or बादरायण son of पराशर are referred to by पाणिनि in his अष्टाध्यायी as भिक्षुसूत्र— "पारशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः" So they must have been composed before the 6th century B.C. The Sutras are grouped in four chapters or Adhyayas called (1) समन्वयः, (2) अविरोधः. (3) साधनम् and (4) फलम्.

The famous Vedantist philosopher शङ्कर of the 8th century A.D., expounded the Vedanta Sutras in his भाष्यम् known as शारीरकभाष्यम्. It was he who fully elaborated the doctrine of माया or cosmic illusion and established that there is no other existence but Brahman. Hence this system is known as the अद्वैतवेदान्त । The same वेदान्त Sutras of बादरायण were commented by different persons holding different views and thus there came into existence many schools of वेदान्त. The following are some of the well-known schools :—

(1) अद्वैतमतम् of शङ्कराचार्यः—8th century A.D.
(2) भेदाभेदमतम् of भास्कराचार्यः—10th century A.D.
(3) विशिष्टाद्वैतमतम् of रामानुजाचार्यः—11th century A.D.
(4) द्वैताद्वैतम् of निम्बार्कः—12th century A.D,
(5) द्वैतमतम् of आनन्दतीर्थ or मध्वाचार्य 13th century A.D.
(6) शुद्धाद्वैतम् of वल्लभाचार्यः—15th century A.D,

(7) शैवविशिष्टाद्वैतम् of श्रीकण्ठः—13th century A.D.
(8) अचिन्त्य भेदाभेदबोधकं गोविन्द भाष्यं of बलदेवः—
18th century A.D.

The Brahma Sutras, the upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita are the basic texts on which all these systems are based. Some have accepted the पाञ्चरात्र, वैखानस and other Agamas also as authoritative texts. There are Vaishnava, Saiva and Sakta (शाक्त) Agamas from which have also originated various religious schools such as——पाशुपतम्, शैवम्, the स्पन्द, and प्रत्यभिज्ञा branches of Kashmiriyan Saivism, शाक्तम् etc.

Advaitam—अद्वैतदर्शनम्

The seed of Advaita Vedanta was sown by Sri Gaudapada, Sankara's परमगुरु in his माण्डूक्य कारिका composed in the early part of the 7th century A.D. गौडपाद was the preceptor of गोविन्द भगवत्पाद who was the Guru of शङ्कर. मण्डनमिश्रः, a contemporary of कुमारिलभट्ट (7th century A.D.) was a Mimamsaka and Vedantin. He has written three important works on Vedanta—(1) ब्रह्मसिद्धिः (2) स्फोटसिद्धिः and (3) विभ्रमविवेकः। In ब्रह्मसिद्धि he gives a clear exposition of the Vedanta system according to the Advaita school.

शङ्करभगवत्पाद of the 8th century A.D., expounded the अद्वैतसिद्धान्त in his monumental भाष्यम् on the Brahma Sutras of Badarayana, his Bhashyas on the ten principal Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita ,and also in many of his minor works such as विवेकचूडामणिः, आत्मबोधः etc. Sankara's ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यंwas commented on by his disciple पद्मपादाचार्यः in his पञ्चपादिका. Suresvaracharya, another

disciple of शङ्कर wrote the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्वार्तिकम् and नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिः. वाचस्पतिमिश्रः (850 A.D), has written a commentary on Sankara's Sutrabhashyam called भामती. न्यायनिर्णयः of आनन्दगिरिः (13th century A.D.), and भाष्यभावप्रकाशिका of चित्सुक of the same period are two other commentaries on शाङ्करभाष्यम्. Anandagiri has also commented on Sankara's Gitabhashyam and Upanishadbhashyam. संक्षेपशारीरकं of सर्वज्ञात्ममुनि of the 10th century A.D., पञ्चपादिकाविवरणम् of प्रकाशात्ममुनि of the 12th century A.D., and खण्डनखण्डखाद्यम् of श्रीहर्ष of the same period are some other important works on Advaitam. माधव of Vijayanagar (14th century A.D.), is the author of three works—(1) पञ्चदशी, (2) जीवन्मुक्तिविवेकः and (3) वैयासिकन्यायमाला.

The वेदान्तसार of Sadananda of the 15th century A.D., and वेदान्तपरिभाषा of धर्मराजाध्वरि of the 16th century A.D., are two good manuals of the Advaita school. अद्वैतसिद्धिः of मधुसूदनसरस्वती of the early 17th century A.D., is a great work defending Advaita by effectively countering the attacks of Vyasayati and others. Vachaspati Misra's भामती was commented by अमलानन्द (13th century A.D.). in his कल्पतरु which was commented by अप्पय्यदीक्षित in his परिमलम्. न्यायरक्षामणिः and सिद्धान्तलेशसंग्रहः are other Advaita works of अप्पय्यदीक्षित । ब्रह्मानन्दीयम् a commentary on अद्वैतसिद्धि is another well-known वादग्रन्थ in the Advaita school.

Visishtadvaitam—विशिष्टाद्वैतम्

The विशिष्टाद्वैत school was founded by रामानुज who wrote his भाष्यं called श्रीभाष्यम् on the ब्रह्मसूत्रं and भगवद्गीता. Ramanuja accepted the पाञ्चरात्र and वैखानस Agamas as authority in addition to the sutras, upanishads and

Bhagavad Gita. According to the विशिष्टाद्वैत school, the world is real, not an illusion. Souls and matter are many. They are the body of the Supreme Being. The animate beings and the inanimate matter are all modes of the Supreme being. They exist only for Him. Hence they are शेष and the God is शेषी. In this school which admits many souls and objects which are mutually different, there is अद्वैत in so far as they are only modes qualifying the one supreme being. Hence it is called विशिष्टाद्वैतम्. Ramanuja lived in the 11th century A.D.

Brahmanandin, Dramida, Guhadeva and Upavarsha also called Bodhayana are claimed as the earliest authorities of this school but their works are not available. रामानुज wrote, in addition to his Bhashyas on Brahma Sutras and Bhagavad Gita many works such as वेदान्तसारः, वेदार्थसंग्रहः, गद्यत्रयम् etc., and preached his विशिष्टाद्वैत philosophy, like Sankara, by travelling all through the land. Many are the commentaries on श्रीभाष्यं such as—न्यायसुदर्शन of वरदनारायण भट्टारक of about 1200 A.D., तत्त्वटीका of वेदान्तदेशिक of the late 13th century A.D., and the मूलभावप्रकाशिका of रङ्गरामानुजमुनिः of the 17th century A.D. आत्रेयरामानुज is the author of न्यायकुलिश in defence of विशिष्टाद्वैतम्।

वेदान्तदेशिक of the late 13th century and early 14th century A.D., is a great authority who established the Visishtadvaita school on firm footing. He is the author of more than 100 works on various subjects. His outstanding works on विशिष्टाद्वैतम् are—(1) तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापः, (2) शतदूषणी, (3) न्यायपरिशुद्धिः, (4) पाञ्चरात्ररक्षा (5) न्यायसिद्धाञ्जनम् and some such works. अप्पय्यदीक्षित has written the नयमयूखमालिका, a commentary on the Brahma Sutra in the light of विशिष्टाद्वैतम्. रङ्गरामानुजमुनिः of about the 17th century A.D.,

wrote commentaries on the important ten Upanishads in the light of the विशिष्टाद्वैत school and acquired the title of उपनिषद्भाष्यकारः।

Dvaitam—द्वैतमतम्

आनन्दतीर्थ or मध्वाचार्यः is the founder of the Dvaita school in the 13th century A.D. He attacked the Advaita doctrine and expounded his द्वैत system in his ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यम्, भगवद्गीताभाष्यं and many other independent works such as तत्त्वविवेकः, तत्त्वसंख्यानम्, प्रपञ्चमिथ्यात्वखण्डनम etc. His महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णयः is a very valuable work. He has also written a commentary on Bhagavatam. According to this school, matter, souls and God are all eternal and are different from each other. Bhakti is the means adopted by the followers of this school for obtaining salvation through the grace of Vishnu, the supreme God.

Jayatirtha of the 14th century A.D., has commented on almost all the works of Madhva and through these valuable commentaries he placed the Dvaita school on sound footing. Nyayasudha, Panchika, Tattvaprakasika and Prameyadipika are some of his well-known commentaries. He has also written two independent works—the प्रमाणपद्धति and वादावली. The latter criticises the Advaitin's doctrine of माया.

व्यासयतिः of the 14th century A.D., wrote the न्यायामृतम् in which he criticised the views of चित्सुक expressed in his independent अद्वैत work called तत्वदीपिका. न्यायामृतं was criticised by the Advaitin मधुसूदनसरस्वती in his अद्वैतसिद्धिः।

राघवेन्द्रयतिः is the author of many valuable commentaries on the works of जयतीर्थ and others. He has also written an independent treatise on द्वैत school called Nyayamuktavali and a commentary on Bhagavad Gita called गीतार्थसंग्रहः ।

Other Schools of Philosophy

Many are the schools of Philosophy which have some followers and a few works to expound their doctrine. The last of these schools was perhaps the one founded by Chaitanya, otherwise known as Lord Gauranga. The गोविन्दभाष्य of बलदेवः, उज्वलनीलमणिः, लघु-भागवतामृतं and भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धुः of रूपगोस्वामी and वैष्णवतोषणी and हरिभक्तिविलासः of सनातनगोस्वामी are some of the prominent works on the Chaitanya cult.

Jainism and Buddhism

While all the above systems and the different schools of Philosophy were based on the Vedas, Agamas and the Puranas, there were two ancient systems of philosophy which denied the authority of the Vedas and hence were treated as नास्तिक systems. They are (1) *Jainism* and (2) *Buddhism.* Both these systems accept the law of Karma and the doctrine of transmigration. *Jainism* recognises the existence of souls as distinct from matter while according to Buddhism, even the soul is annihilated along with matter at the final stage when right knowledge is obtained. What appears to be soul and matter is only apparent and they are the products of desires and passions which are caused by ignorance. Once ignorance is wiped off by right knowledge all its products are

destroyed and that stage is called "निर्वाण". Both these systems lay great stress on अहिंसा while Jainism stresses the importance of सूनृतं, अस्तेयं, ब्रह्मचर्यं and अपरिग्रह also. Both these systems do not recognise the existence of a Supreme Being—the God.

Jainism was founded by वर्धमानमहावीरः (599 to 527 B.C.), who was the 24th saint in that line. It is said that he systematised the doctrines that were propounded by an earlier saint of 800 B C., by name पार्श्वनाथ. The first among the 24 saints who are known as तीर्थङ्कराः is ऋषभदेवः । Vardhamana Mahavira conquered the enemies such as desire, anger etc., and hence he was called जिन and the system of philosophy expounded by him came to be known as जैनमतम्.

The followers of महावीर split themselves into two sects—The दिगम्बर and the श्वेताम्बर. The Digambaras advocated the discarding of even the cloths by those who desire salvation and denied मोक्ष to women while श्वेताम्बर sect permitted the wearing of cloths and did not deny मोक्ष to women. Many are the works on Jainism. The earlier ones are in Prakrit. Authoritative works on Jainism began to appear only about the 1st century A.D., though the system was founded in the 6th century B.C. Apart from the many valuable works on the principles of Jainism, the Jain authors have contributed much for the growth of Sanskrit Literature by writing works on various branches of literature such as काव्य, व्याकरण, कोश, वैद्य etc.

Buddhism was founded by Gautama Buddha (535-485 B.C.), prince of कपिलवस्तु who became बुद्ध (enlightened) after practising meditation. Buddha did not leave any record of his teachings. His pupils were of

different intellectual calibre. As a result there came into existence four schools among the followers of Buddha. They are—वैभाषिकाः, सौत्रान्तिकाः, योगाचाराः and माध्यमिकाः। About 100 A.D. the four schools were classified into two groups—(1) The हीनायन comprising the Vaibhashikas and the Sautrantikas and (2) the महायन which included the Yogacharas and the Madhyamikas. The followers of हीनायन wrote in Pali language while those of the महायन used Sanskrit. The teachings of Buddha are found recorded in early works written in Pali which are called पिटक. There are also a number of जातक works of the early period which are authoritative to the Buddhists.

The earliest writer who dealt systematically with Buddhist doctrines was अश्वघोष who founded and propagated the महायन principles. नागार्जुनः, असङ्गः, वसुबन्धुः and दिङ्नागः are the next important authors of works on Buddhism in the first four centuries of the christian era. Most of their original works are lost but their Chinese translations are available. धर्मकीर्तिः of the 7th century A.D., is another well known author on Buddhistic logic and philosophy. शान्तरक्षितः and कमलशीलः of the 8th century A.D., and धर्मोत्तरः of the 9th century A.D., are other noted authors on Buddhism.

The popularity of Buddhism was mainly on account of its ethical principles. As opposed to it as well as to the Vedic religion was the लोकायत or चार्वाक cult of pure materialism which preached a life of sensual enjoyment and threw all morals into the wind. The authorship of this cult is attributed to बृहस्पति, a few of whose Sutras are gathered from quotations in other works. There are no independent works on this system and it does not deserve consideration here.

CONCLUSION

There is no branch of human knowledge that has not been dealt with in Sanskrit Literature. The knowledge and culture of a highly civilised and intellectually advanced people inhabiting a vast country from 3000 B.C., to about the 18th century A.D., has been recorded in this language which is rich and well-developed to express any idea in any branch of learning in clear terms. In this short survey of Sanskrit Literature we have only touched on the most popular and important works in the main branches of learning. There are a large number of works in each branch which have been omitted as their inclusion may make the book too big for the students. Except in the case of a few authors and works, the dates given are only approximate since no earnest attempt has been made so far to re-write Indian History with the help of all available records and with a mind free from pre-conceived notions.

Sanskrit Literature is the greatest treasure of India. People from all parts of the world have come to India in search of that treasure in the past and have benefitted by it. As the great Max Muller put it :—

"*Whatever sphere of human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, every where you have to go to India, whether you like it or not because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only*".